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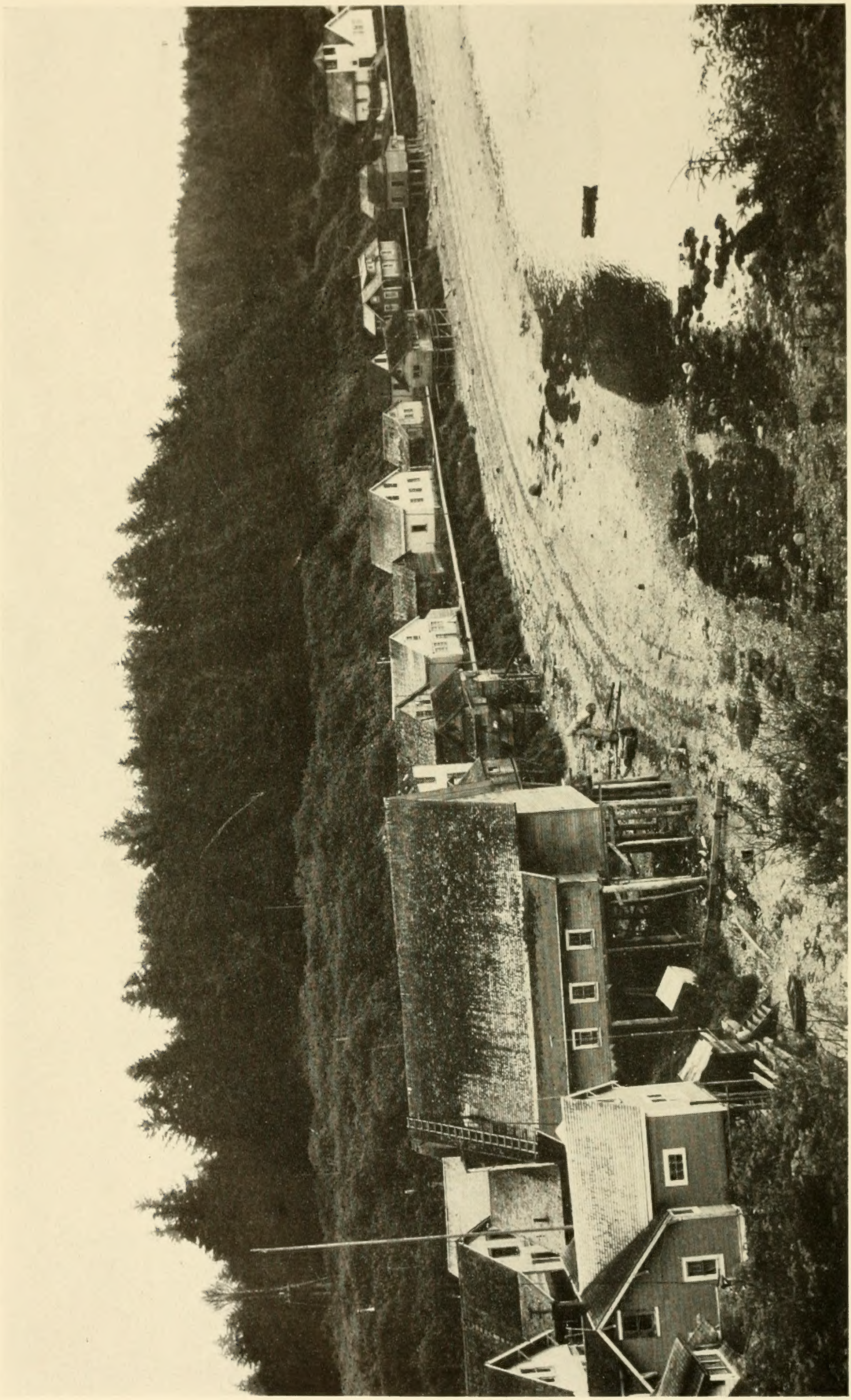
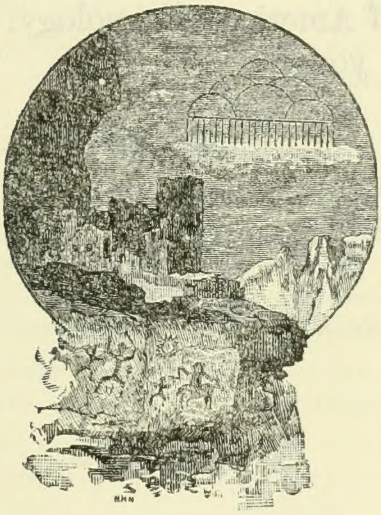


The West Beach of Angoon, 1950.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 172

THE STORY OF A TLINGIT COMMUNITY: A PROBLEM IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHEOLOGICAL, ETHNOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL METHODS

By
FREDERICA DE LAGUNA



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Smithsonian Institution,
Bureau of American Ethnology,
Washington, D. C., March 31, 1958.

Sir: I have the honor to transmit herewith a manuscript entitled "The Story of a Tlingit Community: A Problem in the Relationship between Archeological, Ethnological, and Historical Methods," by Frederica de Laguna, and to recommend that it be published as a bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

Very respectfully yours,

Frank H. H. Roberts, *Director.*

Dr. Leonard Carmichael,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.

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PREFACE

The basic data which form the concern of this study were gathered in the summers of 1949 and 1950 on two exploratory expeditions to Alaska supported by a post-doctoral fellowship from the Viking Fund (now the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research), and by two grants-in-aid from the Arctic Institute of North America from funds supplied by the Office of Naval Research.

The objective of the first season was to discover some area within the territory of the northern Tlingit where an integrated program of archeological, ethnological, and acculturation studies could best be undertaken. This meant selecting some tribal group that possessed at least one native or predominently native community sufficiently integrated to exhibit a coherent social life, and sufficiently old-fashioned to have retained some institutions derived from the aboriginal culture and to provide informants for the remembered or traditional past. In addition there should be, within the territory of the tribe, archeological sites which were recognized as those inhabited by their ancestors and which were suitable for excavation. We also hoped to find others of greater antiquity that might shed light on the more remote past.

During the summer of 1949 I was assisted in the field by Edward Malin, a graduate of the University of Colorado, and by William Irving, then an undergraduate at the University of Alaska. We visited the tribal territories of the Yakutat (June 8–July 13), Chilkat–Chilkoot (July 17–Aug. 4), and Kootznahoo or Angoon people (Aug. 12–29). As a result of this survey, the Yakutat and Angoon areas were judged to be particularly suitable for further work. Archeological investigations in the Chilkat area were disappointing, for while the Chilkat village of Klukwan was still an ethnological treasure house, the inhabitants were so suspicious and hostile that work with them would have been difficult or unproductive. Presumably other areas, especially those of the Hoonah and Sitka tribes, might also have been promising, but we did not have time to explore them. The results of this survey have been embodied in two mimeographed reports, "An Anthropological Survey of the Northern Tlingit, 1949," and "An Archeological Survey in Northern Tlingit Territory, 1949," which were distributed to the institutions supporting the work and to interested individuals.

The second season (June 14–Sept. 14, 1950) was spent at Angoon in order to see what could be learned here through a coordinated program of ethnological and archeological work. The archeological research was carried out chiefly by Francis A. Riddell and Lloyd R. Collins, then graduate students in anthropology at the Universities of California and Oregon, respectively, while the ethnological investigations were undertaken by Dr. Catharine McClellan and the author, who also, especially during the last weeks of the summer, participated in the excavations. The latter were concentrated at one rather small site, but explorations were made of other sites in the vicinity of Angoon, supplementing the survey of the previous summer. The results of the archeological work have been prepared in the form of a mimeographed report "Archeological Explorations in the Angoon Area, Southeastern Alaska, 1950: Part I, Sites; Part II, Specimens." The ethnological data, although dealing with all aspects of Tlingit culture, in both the present and the recent past, are not complete enough for a comprehensive monograph. Some of the general conclusions concerning social organization have been summarized in an article published in the Southwestern Journal of Anthropology (de Laguna, 1952). The present monograph contains not only all the data in the mimeographed reports pertaining to Angoon, but additional material from our field notes. It may be considered, therefore, as a comprehensive statement of all that we learned about the archeology of the Angoon area and of that part of the ethnographic information that bears upon the archeology. How these two types of data are related is one of the problems with which this monograph is particularly concerned. A preliminary statement has already been published under the title of "Some Problems in the Relationship between Tlingit Archeology and Ethnology," Asia and North America: Transpacific Contacts, assembled by Marian W. Smith, Memoir 9, Society for American Archaeology, 1953.

To those institutions that supported and sponsored this research, to the many individuals who gave generous assistance, and to my companions in the field, I wish to express my thanks.

Frederica de Laguna,
Bryn Mawr College,
Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

THE STORY OF A TLINGIT COMMUNITY: A PROBLEM IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHEOLOGICAL, ETHNOLOGICAL, AND HISTORICAL METHODS

By FREDERICA DE LAGUNA

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TLINGIT ARCHEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

There are a number of ways in which archeology may relate to ethnology, but in any given area it may not be possible to trace such connections fully. Ideally, of course, the archeology of a people should enable the anthropologist to trace the record of the culture back into stages temporally prior to those which can be explored through ethnological techniques or historical records. Admittedly the archeological data, even under conditions of maximum preservation and most skillful excavation, will never give the complete outline of a culture. At best the picture would be equivalent to that which the ethnologist might see if he visited a village from which the inhabitants had precipitately fled, abandoning all their possessions. But such a complete inventory of material items, in associations reflecting technological processes, economic activities, social organization, and other nonmaterial aspects of life, is something to which the archeologist may aspire in vain. Even if he should discover such another Pompei, his ability to understand *what* he had found would depend upon the degree to which he has ethnological insights into the total culture of which the material remains are the concrete expressions. The more remote the archeological horizon from the related living culture or cultures, the more limited these insights will be. This limitation is not simply a product of time and space, for the rate of culture change is not necessarily uniform from decade to decade or from mile to mile, but we may expect to encounter periods or stretches of cultural uniformity and lag, punctuated by striking changes as we cross critical temporal or areal boundaries. Because exchanges between neighboring peoples tend to make the cultures within an area similar to each other and in a sense derivatives of the past of any one of them, the archeologist may discover in other archeological or modern cultures of the region where he works clues that shed light on his own particular finds. But even with the aid of such comparative materials, cautiously or daringly applied, he is bound to encounter that which remains inexplicable.

The ethnologist, for his part, never works among a people who are completely unaffected by contact with the civilization of which he is the representative, even though he himself be the first agent of contact. Certainly in mid-20th-century North America, no Indian can be found whose way of life has not been profoundly altered by European and American influences. Although his interests may lie primarily in the contemporary scene, the ethnologist cannot escape the duty of trying to understand what came just before. We will suppose, however, that his chosen task is to discover as much as possible of the vanished or vanishing tribal patterns. He now faces difficulties comparable but opposite to those of the archeologist. For the ethnologist who elicits by every patient and skillful method at his command only a verbal account of how "our people lived in grandfather's time," fails to grasp clearly just those aspects of the culture which may best be understood in their material embodiments.

The archeologist digging in a site known from historic records to have been occupied a century ago, and the ethnologist who listens to descriptions of how "our people lived at that place in grandfather's time" are dealing with the same culture, and their different approaches should not simply result in pictures that complement one another by supplying what the other lacks, but should rather overlap perfectly at some points, as would an aerial photograph and a surveyed map of the same region made to the same scale. Furthermore, the museum collections obtained at the village a century ago and the contemporary records of missionaries, explorers, or traders should ideally check in the same fashion. To what extent, however, can these four pictures taken from these four different perspectives be recognized as projections of the same reality?

Some reflection will show that we can expect considerable deviation from an ideal concurrence. In the first place, the archeologist's collections will tend to represent the "junk" of everyday life, since he finds chiefly what people have lost or thrown away, whereas the museum's ethnological collection will more likely contain a greater proportion of handsome "exhibits." The extent to which one or the other collection may include items pertaining to the prestige economy, ceremonialism, or supernatural rites will reflect, on the one hand, the natives' willingness to part with such items to the collector, and on the other, the natives' practice of abandoning such things in deserted houses or dumps, or burying them in graves or in special repositories, etc., where the lucky archeologist may find them. The museum collection will surpass the best archeological finds in completeness of perishable items, but it will contain, of necessity, only that which is transportable, and will lack both the large or the otherwise immovable objects which the archeologist may study on the spot. The archeological material, as it is uncovered, will occur in associations the meanings of which may be discoverable. These relationships are apt to be lost by transfer of objects to the museum, although they may be recaptured for both archeological and ethnological collections in the form of special exhibits, such as reconstructed grave finds, house interiors, or models of village scenes, for example. The older ethnological collections, however, are especially likely to contain isolated objects, identified only by brief notes on use and provenience, but otherwise torn from the contexts that would make them fully intelligible. It goes without saying that both archeological and ethnological collections of material objects and their accompanying data will reflect the insights and interests of the collectors as individuals and as representatives of the anthropology of their day.

The same sort of comparison can be made between the written accounts of early visitors and the monograph of the ethnologist who records the oral reports of a vanished way of life. Even though the former documents may exhibit no obvious distortions due to their authors' professions as missionaries or traders, we usually cannot hope to find in them as complete or as integrated a picture as the ethnologist can draw, nor as conscious an awareness of the inevitable gaps, but they will certainly contain that which only the eyewitness or the participant could hope to capture. Furthermore, bias is not confined to the clerical or commercial layman alone, though where present it is more easily discovered and discounted than bias in the work of the ethnologist. The latter, in our hypothetical case, is primarily dependent upon what he is told by the natives. Obviously, if the aboriginal culture has completely vanished, so too will have disappeared the memory of it, and there will be no traditions or descriptions of the past except in written records. Insofar as interest in "grandfather's day" is still present and people can still talk about that period, something of the past has actually survived and is alive in the contemporary culture. The ideas and attitudes about the past are all interwoven with concepts and attitudes about the present and the future, and therefore color the living natives' statements, behavior, and expectations. So while the ethnologist must depend chiefly upon what he is told, he also can and must "read between the lines," alert to the significance of what is *not* said, to the attitudes and values revealed or obscured by tone of voice and manner, and he must also be watchful of contemporary overt behavior that illustrates or contradicts what he has been told. The ethnologist's bias arises not only because the natives' accounts of the past are limited to what has survived in oral traditions because it is memorable, or because their statements may also be consciously or unconsciously screened to present the aboriginal culture in a favorable light, but also because the ethnologist, by virtue of his calling, is apt to be particularly sympathetic to the natives' point of view. It is not often that we encounter this form of bias in the proselytizing missionary or exploiting trader.

Lastly, both the ethnologist and the archeologist share the particular preoccupations and interests of their scientific disciplines to which we, their colleagues and contemporaries, are also blinded. These may produce either misleading divergences or concurrences in findings and interpretations, depending upon the relationship between the archeological and ethnological viewpoints involved. It is safe to say that in any case future generations of anthropologists will want to rewrite their chapters of culture history in ways that we cannot now foresee.

In the present instance, archeologist and ethnologist are one and the same person, or at least we have one author responsible for the selection and interpretation of the data, even though some of these have been gathered by previous writers or visitors and by her associates in the field. The reader is therefore warned that in the following discussion there may appear an unjustified concordance between the archeological and ethnological pictures. On the other hand, while the disagreements or inconsistencies may be due to ignorance or confusion on the part of the author, they may also reflect those legitimate but baffling discrepancies in available data which pose the very problems explored in this monograph.

BASIC PREMISES

That the assumptions of the author be made as explicit as possible, it may be well to state the purpose for which the fieldwork was undertaken, especially since it was not intended to explore the relationship between the archeological and ethnological data that might be gathered in two summers among the northern Tlingit. Such a relationship was taken for granted, and it was only when the material was reviewed and organized that the specific agreements and disagreements became apparent. The theoretical problem posed by such concordances and discrepancies was, finally, one that was raised by Dr. Marian W. Smith in the summer of 1951 during discussions with the author. Had this problem been the original and principal objective of the fieldwork, the research would naturally have been oriented in a somewhat different way, and the ethnographic inquiries, for example, would probably have been directed far more exclusively toward those aspects of the culture with which the archeology was also concerned. This is not to imply, however, that the resultant data would have given more insight into the relationships between archeology and ethnology, for too limited a preoccupation with this problem might have led to a failure to perceive some of the pertinent ethnographic clues or perspectives which can be obtained only through concern with the culture as a totality. The anthropologist should be aware of this problem as only one among many, neither more nor less important than others.

The fieldwork of the two seasons was conceived and carried out as preliminary and necessary steps of a larger and more ambitious project, planned to require several years of research and the collaboration of several scholars. The ultimate aim was to trace the development of Tlingit culture from the earliest period represented by discoverable remains down to the present time, not simply to present a descriptive history of Tlingit culture but to explore it as a case study in cultural dynamics. This would involve consideration of ancient cultural diffusion, continuities of traits and attitudes, internal readjustments and shifts in emphasis within the culture, the growth of those specialized patterns which give Tlingit culture its distinctive individuality, and the breakdown of these under white contact with resulting consequences to Tlingit personality.

I had already suggested that from the archeological point of view there was probably a long period of cultural exchanges between the southwestern Alaskan Eskimo and the Northwest Coast Indians, some antedating the formation of the specialized and distinctive culture of southeastern Alaska (de Laguna, 1947, pp. 12 ff.). About a millennium ago (?) these contacts became intensified, bringing to the Indians strong influences from the Asiatic side of the North Pacific. These influences were among the factors stimulating the growth of Northwest Coast culture. The Tlingit, their ancestors or their predecessors, would have been not only intermediaries in this give and take, but also participants in the development of Northwest Coast culture, the early centers of which probably lay farther to the south. If this view is correct, we should find three stages of development in Tlingit archeology. The first would be contemporary with and exhibit relationships to the early prehistoric cultures not only in the Coast Salish area of British Columbia but also in the Aleut-Pacific Eskimo area of southwestern Alaska. Then would come an intermediate stage when northern and Asiatic influences were being received; and finally we should recognize a later prehistoric stage when these diffused traits were being reshaped to fit the emerging patterns of Northwest Coast culture and the Northwest Coast was itself serving as a center for cultural diffusion.

This thesis needs to be tested by archeological work. Northern Tlingit territory is critical because it is intermediary to this assumed cultural exchange and because it is archeologically almost unexplored.

From an ethnological point of view the northern Tlingit are of interest because they represent the northern marginal area of Northwest Coast culture. Kroeber (1939, pp. 28ff.) has suggested that this very distinctive culture first began to develop its characteristic forms in the Coast Salish region about the Gulf of Georgia, that the center of growth shifted northward to the Kwakiutl-Bella Coola area in central British Columbia, and in the most recent period shifted again to the Haida, Tsimshian, and southern Tlingit. The northern Tlingit might be expected, therefore, to have retained something of the simpler character of early Northwest Coast culture, even though at the time of the Russian colonization they were expanding vigorously across the Gulf of Alaska and into Chugach Eskimo territory in Prince William Sound.

Drucker (1955) has, however, recently suggested that Northwest Coast culture developed from a base which was of Eskimoid character, presumably akin to that described by Borden (1950, 1951, 1954) at the mouth of the Fraser River and which has a radiocarbon date of 2,430±163 years. Drucker also argues that the climax of Northwest Coast culture has been long and still lies within the Wakashan area, where the Nootka and Kwakiutl have the purest and most typically coastal form of that culture, since it is uncontaminated by diffusion from the interior, and has preserved most clearly the effects of ancient and profound contacts with the Aleut and Eskimo, or of its derivation from an ancestral Eskimo pattern. According to his view, the Tlingit (and to a lesser degree the Tsimshian and Haida) are not only peripheral to the ancient Wakashan cultural center, but are heavily influenced by diffusions and migrations from the Athabaskan interior. Indeed, all three of these northern tribes are viewed as relatively recent settlers on the coast, who probably interrupted communications between the Aleut-Eskimo and the Wakashan-speakers, even though they themselves, and especially the northern Tlingit, have recently adopted some obvious and superficial Eskimo traits.

Whatever may prove to have been the ultimate origins of Northwest Coast culture, and even if, as Birket-Smith has suggested (Birket-Smith and de Laguna, 1938, p. 531), the Eyak once occupied what is now northern Tlingit territory, there is no question but that in historic times the northern Tlingit were middlemen for the southbound traffic in native copper from the Copper River, and for the north-bound traffic in slaves and dentalia. A number of northern Tlingit tribes also carried on organized trade with the Tlingit- and Athabaskan-speaking tribes of the interior hinterland. Northern Tlingit culture should not only reflect marginal simplicity and the effects of these widespread intertribal contacts, a study of which would be of value in understanding the growth of Northwest Coast culture as a whole, but it also has its own individual character. Although a number of excellent monographs have been published on various details and aspects of Tlingit culture, we still lack an overall, integrated picture. An ethnographic study of this kind would help us to place northern Tlingit culture in its historical and regional perspectives, and it would also serve to reveal characteristic Tlingit patterns and configurations. Materials for such a study would have to be obtained not only from published sources but from the oral traditions of the natives themselves.

The fur trade and Russian colonization at first, and later the mining, fishing, and lumbering industries, missionary and educational activities, and the growth of white settlements, including military establishments, have attacked and are continuing to reshape and shatter the configurations of native culture. Tlingit communities today exhibit in varying degree the effects of acculturation and assimilation. It would be of interest to discover what aboriginal institutions or attitudes are still alive, what aspects of culture have broken down almost completely, and which ones have proved most responsive to change without losing their continuity with the past. A comparison between a relatively old-fashioned community and a greatly changed one should point up problems of adjustment to the modern world. This aspect of the study might well involve analyses of life histories and personality tests.

In all the history of growth, change, and breakdown it should be possible to trace certain continuities of pattern that are distinctively Tlingit. The ultimate objective of the whole study should be to discover some of the underlying causes and factors in this dynamic process.

An assumption which was not explicitly stated in the original formulation of the problem may be presented here, since it is basic to an understanding of Tlingit culture history, and since it received validation and illustration throughout our work in the field. Stated in its simplest form it is that the Tlingit themselves are as much responsible for their own culture and its history as are any of the peoples who have influenced them. In the past, it was they who, consciously or unconsciously, chose what to accept of the cultural innovations offered them through diffusion and what use to make of the opportunities thus afforded. It has been Tlingit character, interests, and orientations that have determined how these importations were reinterpreted to fit Tlingit ethos and adjusted to Tlingit culture. Even today, when that culture is fast losing its aboriginal coherence, we must not assume that the Indians are passive recipients of foreign teachings, or that their culture is an internally static entity to be molded or broken by external pressures. They are not only themselves aware of what is going on, but as individuals or groups are taking an active part in hastening, opposing, or directing the changes which affect their lives. Furthermore, no one characterization will fit them all to the same degree that it might have in the days of a more homogeneous aboriginal culture, for today there are not only the old-fashioned persons who understand no English and whose life is still largely guided by the old patterns of subsistence hunting and fishing, by reciprocal sib and lineage obligations, and by the old values, but there are other persons who have broken with all of these. Among the latter are college graduates, veterans, teachers, ministers, civil servants, local town officials, leaders in the local trade unions, storekeepers, and commercial fishermen who own valuable boats. The most important developments in recent years have been the extension to the Alaska natives of full American citizenship and the legislation abolishing certain discriminatory practices. These have been won largely through the Tlingit's own efforts, especially by the organization of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and its affiliated Sisterhood. Their status as citizens has received recognition through the election of several natives as Representatives in the Territorial Legislature. The extension of the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act to Alaska has made it possible for native communities to secure Federal loans for commercial undertakings, public works, and education. Some Tlingit groups have seized these opportunities; others have rejected them. In the clash with vested interests, in the legal confusion over native territorial rights, in the conflict between sometimes opposing policies in different branches of the Government or in different administrations, in the struggle against old prejudices and apathy within the native communities and outside, and in the uncertainties of the modern world which threaten all of us, the Tlingit have found both hope and disillusionment. But whatever the solution or solutions that may be adopted, whatever the patterns of Alaskan life that may emerge, these will be what they are because of something essentially Tlingit that has played its part in their creation.

CONDUCT OF THE FIELDWORK

To understand the results obtained from any piece of fieldwork it is necessary to have some notion of how it was carried out. The actual conduct of any field investigations always involves the making of a series of choices between the various opportunities offered, and the seizing of one necessarily excludes others. The anthropologist, of course, has only a limited control over such opportunities, and sometimes none at all. In any case he can never know whether he has made the fullest use of what was available. But the situation, as he sees it, provides the background against which we must view the information he has gathered.

The situation will involve such factors as the size and composition of the party. Too small a party is handicapped, especially in archeological work, in doing the chores of daily living, and is limited in the variety of projects that can be undertaken. Too large a party, especially on an exploratory trip, may disturb the native community by the sudden intrusion of many strangers, may be unable to find accommodations in the villages or means of transportation, since living quarters are scarce and all but the smallest and perhaps least seaworthy motorboats and skiffs may be engaged in fishing. The length of the time available for fieldwork, the season of the year, the weather, the stages of the tide, etc., all impose their peculiar limitations. The character of the native community, which involves the various attitudes of its members and component groups toward the investigators and their researches and toward each other in their relationships to the anthropologists, the particular interests in or knowledge of their own culture possessed by the different informants and their ability to communicate, and above all, the varying extent to which other interests, especially fishing, absorb the people—all these are factors affecting what the anthropologist can do and how he proceeds.

The attempt to combine archeological and ethnological work imposes its own particular choices on the small party, for there is always the problem of allotting the amount of time to be spent investigating potential sites, excavating known ones, interviewing informants, making new acquaintances, writing up notes, cataloging specimens, etc. Often the choice is not easy—if, for example, there comes the first calm sunny day after days or weeks of bad weather. Should this be the day when the whole party photographs and maps the excavations, or should all or some of its members seize the opportunity of observing and participating in the various activities of the community that are now joyously undertaken outdoors? Of course, at times the choice is obvious: engagements previously made with the natives should not be changed, or the state of the tide may make it dangerous for the whole party to go out to a site in a small skiff. Throughout the season, fortuitous lucky and unlucky accidents continually modify the planned program for research as they offer unexpected leads or prevent the realization of some projected undertaking.

It is, therefore, appropriate to give a brief summary of the conduct of the fieldwork in and about Angoon in 1949 and 1950 before the results are discussed.

Malin, Irving, and I came to Angoon on August 12, 1949, on a motorboat that we had chartered in Juneau for a trip of exploration around Admiralty Island. Through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Kahklen, the schoolteachers at Angoon, to whom we had introductions from the Alaska Native Service in Juneau, we were able to stay for about a week at the "Teacherage." The Kahklens, themselves Tlingit, introduced us to some of the people who proved to be our most valuable informants then and in 1950. They also found interpreters for us or they themselves acted in that capacity when this was necessary. In addition to gathering information, I was able to explain the purpose of our work to some of the influential people and to show the letter of introduction to the local officers of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood that had been given me by Mr. Lester Roberts, the Grand Secretary of the organization. Because it was immediately evident that Angoon would be a rich field for ethnological research, whereas the archeological potentialities of the area were unknown, and because the time at our disposal was limited, we concentrated during our week at Angoon on exploring the sites reported in the vicinity.

After leaving the village on August 19, we visited Hood Bay where the Angoon Community Association had recently bought a salmon cannery with funds obtained under the Indian Reorganization Act. Since practically all the Angoon families had by this time moved to Hood Bay, the men to fish and the women to work in the cannery, we here met almost all of the native population, observed the cannery in operation, and obtained additional information. On our trip through Angoon territory we investigated reported sites at Basket Bay on Chichagof Island, and at Hood, Chaik, and Whitewater Bays and Eliza Harbor on Admiralty Island. The only major area claimed by the Angoon people that we did not visit was Peril Strait between Chichagof and Baranof Islands, although sites were also reported here. Some of the places we investigated were unrewarding archeologically: in some cases the information given by the natives seems to have been incorrect; in others it was so vague or misleading that the site could not be found, or the archeological remains were too scanty to warrant excavation. Some of these places can, therefore, be eliminated from further investigation, while others might profitably be revisited if more explicit information were obtained, and especially if a native could be secured as a guide. Of the sites investigated three seemed to be promising: a fort on Kootznahoo Inlet called Daxatkanada (excavated in 1950), a fort on Hood Bay, and a village on Whitewater Bay. That the archeologist is not dependent upon native tradition in locating sites was proved by our spotting the Hood Bay fort from a motorboat; only the following year did we learn anything about it from the natives.

Because of its archeological and ethnological promise, Angoon was selected as a field for work in 1950. From June 14 to September 13, Dr. McClellan, Riddell, Collins, and I, with the permission of the Alaska Native Service, occupied two classrooms in the schoolhouse, literally the only quarters available. Again the Kahklens did everything possible to help us until they left on June 29 for a summer in the States. Since our quarters were at the extreme southern end of the village, we were inevitably thrown into closer contact with some members of the community than with others. The school building proved in many ways an excellent place in which to entertain friends, interview informants, and work on the archeological material.

From Angoon the two men made almost daily trips by skiff and outboard to Daxatkanada Island, which we had decided to excavate first, while Dr. McClellan and I concentrated on the ethnological work. The two of us also visited the site from time to time, and after the middle of August, when most of the natives began to leave for the canneries, we spent most of our time with the men at the diggings. In addition to the excavations at Daxatkanada, we made a large test trench at the nearby site on Pillsbury Point and explored a number of old camps and former villages near Angoon. We were unable to reach some of the reported sites, however, since the only boat we could obtain was a skiff which we dared not trust in exposed waters or swift currents. Despite this, we were able to make two long and valuable excursions, the first with the Kahklens to Mitchell Bay at the head of Kootznahoo Inlet, and the second with other native friends, the Reverend and Mrs. Cyrus Peck, to an important site on Sitkoh Bay in Peril Strait. Although we had originally planned to move to Hood Bay in the latter part of the summer, in order to excavate the fort there and to continue ethnological investigations at the cannery settlement, we abandoned this plan because the excavation at Daxatkanada took longer than anticipated and no quarters for the party could be obtained at Hood Bay.

The archeological work did not involve any unusual techniques. Exploration of sites included locating the spot on large-scale charts, making sketch maps and photographs, and digging test holes to determine the extent and character of the deposits. If these were stratified, measurements and often diagrammatic cross sections were made to record the various layers, and the occurrence of animal bones, shells, hearths, artifacts, etc., were, of course, noted. The two sites at which more extensive work was undertaken were more accurately mapped, the area to be excavated was laid out in grids, and the contours of the surface measured before digging was begun, and more detailed cross-sectional drawings and photographs of the deposits were made as these were exposed. Animal bones, samples of shells, of wood, and of the soil in various strata were saved for identification.

Three localities explored in 1949 and 1950 had pictographs or petroglyphs. These were photographed and sketched, and tracings of some were made on tissue paper.

The ethnological work deserves to be described in more detail, if only because the ethnographer often does not explain the methods by which he obtains his data. I took pains, both in 1949 and 1950, to explain to the natives that we had come to gather material for a serious history of Angoon that would describe how the people used to live and how their lives had changed; that I was a teacher from "back East" who wanted to learn and teach the truth about the Indians so that my students and others would learn to respect them. With few exceptions, most of the people were not only interested in our work and ready to help, but were particularly sympathetic when they realized that we had not come for a hasty "inspection trip" but hoped to spend more than one season in learning about the Tlingit. One young man even thanked us for our efforts to record the "rich culture of my people before it is all gone." But, of course, some individuals remained suspicious and unapproachable. We tried, therefore, to create and retain good will by proceeding slowly and respecting reticences, rather than to jeopardize future success by trying to pry out information that was not readily given.

On both trips all members of the party kept diaries, in which we described our activities, the places visited, the people met, and events that occurred in the communities. In addition, Dr. McClellan and I made special records of long interviews or conversations and of special events. At many of the interviews, especially at those which had been arranged in advance and for which fees or gifts were given to informants, we took running notes. The usual procedure was for one of us to write while the other directed the interview with such questions as seemed appropriate. On many occasions, however, it seemed best not to keep notes, except perhaps for recording native words, but to write an account of what was said and done as soon afterward as possible. We usually began this task by compiling a list of all the topics which had been covered, then each of us took a share of these to write up from memory, and each corrected and amplified the rough draft made by the other before the final draft was typed. In this way, we found it possible to record the substance and often many of the actual phrases used by informants in conversations lasting more than 4 hours. In fact, these records usually do not seem to be any less detailed than those made from notes taken during the interview. Of course, at many interviews, visits, or casual encounters, only one of us was present, but on the whole we found it advantageous to work together and the natives also expected it.

The information gathered in this way covered a variety of topics, ranging over all major aspects of Tlingit life, contemporary and in the recent past. Included were data on technology and subsistence, in the form of verbal descriptions of hunting and fishing methods, of what we observed on berrying expeditions with the women or in watching a seal being flensed, of recipes for cooking chitons, of models or drawings of fishing gear, and lastly, photographs. Data on social organization included a census of the community, map of the town, list of sibs and their lineage houses, short genealogies, etc., as well as explanations, comments, or descriptions of such institutions as joking relationships, potlatching, marriage, feuds, and slavery. We also gathered a good deal of information on shamanism and other aspects of supernatural beliefs and practices, and recorded (in English) a number of myths and sib tradition. A Webster wire-recorder loaned by the Wenner-Gren Foundation made it possible to obtain several potlatch songs and a long speech in Tlingit describing the destruction of Angoon by the Coast Guard in 1882. Information about current affairs and community problems and some autobiographical material was volunteered. We do not consider these data as exhaustive on any one topic, but rather as indicative of the range that can be covered, and as suggesting certain problems to be solved by further research.

Naturally, the sort of information obtained varied with the age, sex, sib affiliation, and particular knowledge, interests, and temperament of the individual informants, and we were fortunate to be able to work with many different persons. I should point out, however, that about half of our information came from one individual who is in some ways atypical. He is a middle-aged man who had received a much better education in white schools than most Tlingit of his generation. He had played for a while a prominent role in community affairs, but was now largely withdrawn from much of the ordinary community life. He finds himself caught between the white man's and the native's worlds, yet not fully belonging to either. He is intellegent enough to analyze and compare both and to realize his own position. He had not only the time but the interest and insight to be a valuable informant. Most of the information from him pertained to social institutions, sib traditions, recent community history, etc. He also furnished some data on hunting and fishing, though most of our data on material culture and on former sites came from others.

In general, we can say that the Tlingit are reserved, often shy, and sometimes suspicious. Many at first seemed to be afraid that we, like other whites, would ridicule or disapprove of the old ways. Customs which were at variance with modern Tlingit or white usages were sometimes uncomfortable topics of conversation. Here we met with various degrees of ignorance or reticence, or with attempts to justify the old ways by explaining how they were really like the ways of the whites, or even how they conformed better than white practices to modern standards of morality. Such explanations were often not only revealing of present attitudes but suggestive of ambivalences even in the past. There are many different attitudes toward the old and the new; some people lament the loss of old customs, skills, and values; others turn eagerly toward a brightly envisioned future. We made a number of real friends, and from them received a flood of confidences, obviously releasing long-pent tensions, and reflecting the reserve which is demanded in interpersonal contacts between the Tlingit themselves. We found that our informants did not like to be guided by questions, and that they were much more impatient of such interruptions than are most white Americans. It is apparent, too, that the Tlingit learn from each other, not by questioning, but by observing and waiting for explanations or comments to be volunteered. So our informants said what they wanted to say, in their own way, at their own time and pace. From this stems both the completeness and incompleteness of our records, for we obtained valuable information and insights in this spontaneous way that we would otherwise have missed. Yet we sometimes regretted that it was impossible to recapture the interest of the informant in something previously discussed and on which we desired fuller explanations. A great deal of information came, therefore, not in the form of generalized statements, but in accounts of particular events that our informants had witnessed or in which they had participated, or in the form of stories which older people had told them. This usually meant a wealth of detail, but it was often hard to judge from the specific instances what were the underlying patterns. Individuals varied, of course, in their ability to generalize about their culture and in their interest in doing so.

We were also struck by the lack of interest shown by the Tlingit in the customs of other tribes, even of their neighbors, although many of them had made long trips, for example to Seattle, where they encountered people of different cultures. Even the relocation of some Aleut refugees on a nearby island during the war seems to have left little mark on the Angoon community, despite the fact that the two groups had ample opportunity for becoming acquainted. For instance, only one man commented on differences between Aleut and Tlingit customs (in this instance, methods of preserving seal entrails), and one other mentioned the different physical appearance of the

Aleut. Exceptions to this general lack of interest in the foreign are the traditions that the Chilkat blanket was adapted from Tsimshian weaving, and that the Haida built excellent canoes because they had red cedar (one Angoon sib claims descent from a woman who married a Haida, and the canoe is usually mentioned in this connection), and lastly there is the admitted eagerness with which the Tlingit copy "Aleut" (Prince William Sound Eskimo) dances and Tsimshian songs. On the whole, however, the Tlingit live in the center of their own cultural world, and in this respect contrast greatly with such groups as the Tena (Ingalik) Athabaskans on the lower Yukon, who not only eagerly copied the ceremonies of their Eskimo neighbors but even made up a comic dance featuring "Outside Indians," feather bonnet and all, about whom they had evidently learned in school (de Laguna, 1936, pl. 17, B–*3*, p. 573). This Tlingit attitude probably accounts for the few references made to the various white persons who formerly visited them. Only those who lived among the Tlingit for a long time, and who thus became in a sense members of the community, seem to have been remembered or at least thought worthy of mention.

CHARACTER OF THE ETHNOLOGICAL DATA

Certain limitations on the type of ethnological information obtainable have a definite bearing on the problem of relating Tlingit ethnology to Tlingit archeology or to written historical records. Thus, a good deal of knowledge about aboriginal material culture, technology, hunting and fishing, etc., is lost, for the old tools and weapons are no longer made or used, and in many cases can be seen only in museums. Many of the artifacts found in our excavations could not be identified at all, or were assigned obviously fantastic functions. Stone adzes, harpoon heads, beads, pendants, and labrets were objects which everyone recognized correctly and found the most interesting. The labrets, in particular, roused gales of laughter among the women and animated comment. The needle, however, has so completely replaced the awl that no one seems to have any clear ideas of what a bone awl was really like, so that any pointed bone, especially the double-pointed pins (see p. 117), would be identified as an awl, and thrust through the informant's jacket to demonstrate how an awl was used to make a hole in sewing. Again, descriptions of old-style houses were often vague and stereotyped, for the modern framehouse replaced the aboriginal plank house when today's old people were children. Yet the smokehouses still in use represent the whole series of types from the oldest to the most modern.

It might be expected that the older men who had been hunters in their youth would be able to identify most of the animal bones and teeth that we found in the excavations. Yet one elderly man, who gave valuable information about hunting and fishing devices, was unable to recognize the remains of common animals, and usually identified even the bones and teeth of small mammals (seal, sea otter) as those of "a bear—oh, a little one." I do not know to what extent this ignorance is typical: our informant may have forgotten what he once knew about animals. I suspect, however, that the Tlingit were never particularly interested in this aspect of animal anatomy. The conventionalizations of Northwest Coast art in which the articulations between all bones are conceptualized as ball and socket joints and uniformly symbolized by eye motifs may not only express a lack of interest in anatomical detail but may even have hindered the perception of it. Whatever the reason, this example of ignorance contrasts most strongly with the knowledge displayed by every Eskimo I have known. An attempt to secure the native names for common shellfish in the area met with a surprising reaction on the part of an old lady whom we approached. The shells of species used for food or for other purposes (i. e., the large mussel formerly used as a knife, and the large barnacle now used as a flower vase) were readily identified, but our informant manifested horror at the sight of such things as rock oyster shells and dried starfish, for handling them brings storms. It was perhaps all right for us to touch them, but she did not even want to look at them, she said, and did not know their names.

Traditional native art is virtually dead at Angoon. Only a few sib heirlooms survived destruction in 1882 or are still treasured, and the new ceremonial paraphernalia which is being made for potlatches (mostly beaded robes) is in an altered style. Only a few of the older women still make baskets, and there are no more wood carvers or silversmiths. Moreover, the old paintings and carvings on the house fronts have been obliterated or destroyed, and even if the lineage chiefs felt it worth the expense to have them restored, they would have to search far for a competent artist. The decay of heraldic art involves also a loss of the detailed knowledge of its symbolic meanings. This may be one reason why it is now difficult to secure specific information about petroglyphs and pictographs, although people say that they could formerly be "read like totem poles." Furthermore, as this knowledge has become more esoteric, the antiquarians among the Tlingit, proud of their reputation as experts, are less willing to teach others what they know.

TLINGIT CONCEPTS OF HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY

As will be seen, we were told a number of stories associated with various sites or localities, some versions being obviously more complete than others. Whereas some myths, for example those of the Raven cycle, may be told by anyone, most of the traditions referring to supposedly historic events and many of the myths and legends are associated with particular sibs. These are best known by the members of the sib in question, or by persons whose father or paternal grandfather belonged to that sib and had taught them the stories when they were children. Outsiders may be familiar only with the outline of the tale. In any case, there is a feeling that only those who belong to the sib should tell the story, while others who may know it usually profess ignorance. This is natural, since the story may be told or acted out at potlatches and may provide the basis for potlatch songs, sib regalia, and ceremonial oratory ("like talking in riddles"). These various forms of recalling or symbolically portraying the tradition are prerogatives of the particular sib, whose members sacrifice wealth at potlatches not simply to validate their rights in these monopolies but to enhance the value of their ceremonial privileges. Again, if the story refers to fights or quarrels between sibs, as many of them do, it would be interpreted as an insult, a deliberate provocation sufficient to renew the old quarrel, if a member of one sib told the story or even referred to the incident in the presence of a member of the other sib involved. For this reason, such stories do not circulate freely, and there is even a deliberate attempt to suppress them as dangerous to the peace of the community.[1] If thoroughly investigated, it is probable that one would find as many different versions of the story as there were sibs involved, each reflecting one side of the affair or magnifying the part played by one group.

All of these are factors which serve to compartmentalize the traditional history of a tribe into a series of sib histories that cannot be reconciled. These histories do not belong so much to the tribal community, therefore, as to the sib, and the sib's various local subdivisions which form parts of different tribal communities will have a common fund of tradition. It would be an interesting subject for research in any one community to study the extent and character of the contradictions and discrepancies between the histories of the various sibs and to explore the reasons for such lack of agreement. A more usual type of study has dealt with the differences between versions of the same story gathered in different localities.

I believe it would be possible to show that the individual Tlingit's sense of history and geography is strongly affected by the dominance of the sib which controls the social, political, and ceremonial aspects of his life. Tlingit "histories" are concerned with the origin of lineages or sibs, the quarrels or other events that caused such family groups to break away from their parent bodies or to leave their original homes, and the subsequent wanderings of these groups until they reached their present locations. The stories deal also with the supernatural occurrences upon which the claims to lineage and sib totemic crests are based, and lastly they tell of encounters with other sib groups. These stories and the ceremonial prerogatives they justify are shared by the various subdivisions of the sib that are scattered in different communities, and are among the strongest bonds uniting them. The reality of this history is kept vivid because personal names, especially those that are assumed as titles, are derived from legendary or historic events, and those who bear them are the reincarnations of the dead ancestors who took part in these events. Similarly, certain localities, even though they may lie beyond the present boundaries of Tlingit country, must have a special meaning, a special quality of reality for the sib members, because these places are the scenes of sib history. It is the sib that provides a sort of unity to geography and history, a "logic" which may prove to be more important than a purely spatial and temporal framework.

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[1] Dr. Viola Garfield informs me that this also affects the attitude toward some totem poles in the more southern Tlingit communities. A white proposal to move some old poles from an abandoned village to the modern community where they could be guarded from vandalism was vigorously opposed by the people, because the poles in question carried designs symbolizing or "telling the story" of former feuds which were better forgotton.

For other peoples, however, history is more clearly anchored to and organized about a whole area, not a sib migration route, and the stories a man knows and tells will belong to his whole tribe or may refer especially to the section of the country where he lives. Thus, the locales of the stories told by the Chugach Eskimo informant with whom Dr. Kaj Birket-Smith and I worked in 1933 lay largely within that part of Prince William Sound with which the old man was familiar. His knowledge of the Sound was expressed, not simply by his familiarity with places where there were good landing beaches or dangerous reefs, or hunting grounds, or streams, etc., or by his knowledge of the names for these places, but also by his ability to tell the stories associated with them. Conversely, if he knew a story he knew where the events had taken place, and his stories were often good guides to archeological sites. The Sound was not crisscrossed for him by the migration routes of his ancestors[2] but by the journeys of famous warriors, chiefs, or shamans, whose kinship affiliations are seldom mentioned; and certain places did not seem more important to him because they were associated with his own ancestors, as they would have been for a Tlingit. Yet many of the plots were the same as those the Tlingit tell as sib histories.

This is not to be understood as implying, however, that the individual Tlingit will be ignorant of the traditions associated with other sibs in his own community or unable to give information about the territories they claim and the sites of settlements they formerly occupied. This could hardly be so, if only because information of this kind belongs to the traditions that furnish the basis for ceremonialism at the potlatches in which all members of the community participate. It is rather that the most knowledgeable and interested informant is the one whose sib claims the story and the territory in question, and he is, therefore, the best one to ask for information about old sites within that territory. The only exception is the son of a man of that sib, because of the special bond between father and son, or the paternal grandson of a man of the sib. Among informants, the man who was early recognized as the heir presumptive to a chief is the best of all, if he can be induced to part with his valued knowledge, for he was "specially educated" as a child in the traditions of his sib and house. Some of these men have a wide reputation for their knowledge of the past. But since we did not have the opportunity to work with any of them, we do not know how justified such reputations may be, nor to what extent their knowledge may include specific items pertaining to sibs other than their own.

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[2] The Chugach lack migration stories of any kind; "Chugach land" is the land where the Chugach and their ancestors have always lived. The nearest approaches to migration stories mention only the founding of new villages within the Sound area (Birket-Smith, 1953, pp. 8, 135, 155 ff.).

In the fund of traditions that are common property and that can be elicited from any reasonably informed person, are stories of the remote mythical past, the doings of Raven, for example, and the events of the Great Flood which are incorporated into the Raven cycle. These stories often explain the appearance of peculiar rock formations, or have as their scenes prominent mountains or other impressive features of the landscape. Some of the stories about the great mythical heroes or well-known supernatural beings, although associated with particular sibs, are commonly known and many persons have visited the scenes of these adventures. Traditions associated with the dominant sib of the community are almost community traditions because this sib is in a position to emphasize them through its prominence in ceremonial affairs, and because its numerical size assures it representation in most households. The Raven Decitan at Angoon is such a sib. Even the two smaller Raven groups acknowledge their descent from Decitan forebears, and so share in some Decitan traditions. Pertaining to the more recent past are numerous common stories, ranging from such terrible events as the destruction of Angoon by the Coast Guard in 1882, to the mysterious drowning of a woman and child in the Inlet a few years ago, or the purchase of the new cannery at Hood Bay in 1947.

For the Tlingit, as for any people, the land in which they live is given a dimension and meaning above that which can be expressed in ordinary geographical terms or in present use. Part of southeastern Alaska is the territory of their own geographical community or tribe, subdivided into the areas specially claimed by the component sibs;

the rest stretches away into the regions belonging to other Tlingit tribes and to alien groups with whom they have or used to have friendly or hostile relations. The land may also be subdivided into the well-known regions of home and of places often visited, the less familiar localities that are seldom visited, and, lastly, remote areas that are known only through hearsay. The land also has special places or regions of particular significance derived from the myths, legends, and histories associated with them, modified or overlaid for each individual by his sib affiliation and by the personal experiences of himself and his family.

I have spoken of Tlingit land as divided into areas, but this is probably not how the native thinks of it. For him territory is rather conceived in terms of points, that is, of spots and localities. We are accustomed to think of the land in terms of areas that are marked off by boundaries. There are, or should be, no gaps between these areas; the boundary of one is the boundary of the next. Our geographical knowledge we feel is incomplete so long as there remain "blank spaces on the map." This scheme is natural for a people who divide land into acres, city blocks, half sections, or national territories. As individuals we differ, of course, in our ability to visualize the country as a map or to retain an awareness of the cardinal directions as guides, but our first impulse when dealing with the unfamiliar is to orient ourselves with a map.

If our picture of the world is that of the farmer, property-owner, and landlubber, the Tlingit's is that of the traveler, especially the mariner, who is concerned with places and the routes between them. The world for the Tlingit is probably visualized more as it is in our sailing and harbor charts than as it is in our political areal maps, for such charts reduce the land to landfalls, to reefs, shoals, and anchorages to be avoided or sought, and they sacrifice or distort lineal and areal measurements to emphasize angles of direction.[3] Sib territorial rights do not refer then to areas but to specific spots: fishing streams, coves, berry patches, or house sites, etc., and the terrain or waters between these places are simply the relatively undifferentiated landscape through which one travels in going from one to the other. Even places on the unmarked waters, such as halibut banks, are located by lines of sight on prominent landmarks. Whereas our cardinal directions are astronomical in character and function like a grid which can be superimposed on any part of the world and so reduce all terrestrial space to one uniform scheme, at least two of the cardinal directions of the Tlingit refer primarily to the flow of currents in their home waters, and even here they lack an absolute quality. Thus, "northward," nÁndÈ, is essentially "upriver," and "southward," 'íxdÈ, is "downriver."

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[3] It would be interesting in this connection to know to what extent and how skillfully the Tlingit actually make use of U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Charts, or of the loran with which a number of their seine boats are equipped.

As the anthropologist endeavors to learn about the country from his informants, something derived from all these meanings is conveyed to him and he, too, catches glimpses of the landscape through their eyes. We have, of course, made only a beginning in gathering the sort of data needed to understand the native conceptualization (or conceptualizations) of his country. In addition to fuller data, we should also have to determine how far it would be justifiable, from the native point of view, to separate into different categories the various spots associated with different types of mythical and historical traditions. These places would include the rocks that Raven shaped, mountains where men took refuge during the Flood, places where sib ancestors had supernatural adventures, sites where sib houses were first built, and, lastly, villages occupied "in grandfather's time." The white man almost automatically divides such places into those associated with myth and those with historical traditions, with perhaps an intermediate group of legendary-but-maybe-historical, as I have done here. But is this necessarily the way the natives conceive them? Our temporal scheme of evenly marching years and centuries demands the ranking of events into earlier and later points on a single time scale. Some of the natives' stories are for us simply incredible; others seem as if they might be true or contain elements of truth. Traditions about old dwelling places are verified for us by the finding of such objective remains as camp debris or house pits. To what extent do the Tlingit have a time scale like ours, and what for them determines the credibility of tradition?

I suspect, although I cannot prove it, that their time scale is essentially looser than ours, and that even before the deculturation of recent years had blurred the details of the traditions, the Tlingit could accommodate more of inconsistency and vagueness than we would tolerate. I suspect, however, that they do make a distinction between ordinary historical time and "myth time," the latter being a period when the world was mysteriously different or only partly formed.[4] But I doubt whether it would be possible for them to rank in a temporal sequence the bulk of the traditions of the various sibs, which presumably refer to events that occurred between "myth time" and the present era. Too often, for example, our informants found it impossible to say whether an episode was supposed to have occurred before or after the coming of the Russians. Furthermore, what we would call the supernatural can apparently happen at any time, although the greatest manifestations were in the past when shamans had more power.

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[4] Boas (1916, p. 565) points out that the Northwest Coast tribes distinguish between myths and tales on the basis of whether or not the world was different from what it is now (e. g., whether animals might appear in human form), although some stories are hard to place. This implies a distinction between "myth time" and historical time. Boas suggests that most stories referring to the origins of sibs and crests are myths, although many Tlingit stories of this type seem to refer to an intermediate period, or even to one that they recognize as only a few hundred years old.

In one sense, all of the various traditions are alive today and all are credible to the less sophisticated native, although perhaps in different ways. For the landscape endures as testimony to the stories of the past. Thus, curiously shaped rocks are the work of Raven. Bad weather is caused when foolish youths climb to the Flood refuge mountains or even point a finger at them. (Since Raven, yeł, is actually equated by some with the Christian Creator, and the Flood associated with him is the Biblical Flood, the teachings of the Church may even reinforce some of these beliefs.) The salmon stream at Hood Bay where a shaman obtained power from a rotting salmon still flows, the cave to which his spirit carried him is still presumably under Kootznahoo Head, and the shaman himself is reincarnated in the Dᴀqł’awedi chief who bears his name. Although the archeologists may have failed to find traces of the first Dᴀqł’awedi village on Admiralty Island at the spot indicated by tradition, the natives might argue and we would have to agree that this cannot disprove the tradition, for house pits and stone adzes have been found at other village sites mentioned in other sib traditions.

In the last analysis, the archeologist cannot afford to neglect any clue suggested by these stories and myths. The rock supposed to have been shaped by Raven *might* turn out to have petroglyphs or pictographs. (In Prince William Sound, rock paintings had a mythical origin, being ascribed to a cannibal monster, the chief of the spirits, not to the ancestors of the Chugach.) It is possible, too, that the archeologist *might* find something of interest in the "stone nests" said to have been built as protection against bears on the mountaintops during the Flood, for Dr. John C. Reed of the United States Geological Survey informs me that many years ago he found some mysterious stone cairns on the uplands of Baranof Island. While these were not on the peaks, and did not seem to have been built for defense, they may have suggested the notion of the flood "nests." Again, the various caves that are mentioned in a number of stories *might* yield surprising contents if they could be found. Even if a majority of the traditions referring to places should prove to be simply fanciful explanations for natural features without archeological significance, others may refer to places that have caught the natives' interest because they actually do give evidence of topographic changes, such as changes of sea level, of drainage, or of glacial movements, and so may be of indirect value to the archeologist.

Although I had originally planned to present in the next section information only on archeological sites, reported or actually tested, I have come to feel, because of the considerations given above, that there should be included mention of other localities with mythological or historical associations, even though these are not supposed to have any archeological significance.

ANGOON TRIBAL TERRITORY

THE ANGOON PEOPLE

In the following pages ethnological and archeological information concerning the territory of the Angoon people is presented in an attempt to explore what this territory means to the natives and what opportunities it offers to the archeologist. Some of the places mentioned below were visited and explored by us; others we know only from hearsay. Neither the ethnological nor the archeological data should be considered as more than a sampling. Both in the field and in preparing this report I have relied heavily upon Garfield's summary of Angoon traditions (1947) and upon the survey of aboriginal territorial claims made by Goldschmidt and Haas (1946). Our transliteration of native names has been corrected by reference to Boas' grammatical study of the Tlingit (1917), and this work has also been consulted in attempting to translate or explain the meanings of Tlingit words.[4a]

Angoon territory includes most of the west shore and southern end of Admiralty Island (from Point Marsden or even Funter Bay on the northwest to Chapin Bay on the southeast) and the opposite shores of Chichagof and Baranof Islands (from False Bay on the north to Gut Bay or even Patterson Bay on the south). Chatham Strait, which bisects their lands, is one of the largest fiords in southeastern Alaska. Running almost due north from its mouth on the open sea between Baranof and Kuiu Islands, it cuts diagonally across the northern half of the Alexander Archipelago, and continues, as Lynn Canal, deep into the mainland. Icy Strait and Cross Sound run westward from the northern end of Chatham Strait, between Chichagof Island and the mainland to the north, to give access to the open sea. Farther south, Frederick Sound branches eastward from the southern part of Chatham Strait to divide Admiralty Island from the islands of the Kuiu and Kupreanof group, and connects with Stephens Passage. The latter is a north-south fiord between Admiralty Island and the mainland, which leads to Taku Inlet, Juneau, and eventually to Lynn Canal. (Fig. 1.)

[4a] Boas' Tlingit orthography is followed here, except that a raised w is used instead of his raised u, small capitals instead of his lower-case Greek vowels, and, because of typographical difficulties, the apostrophe indicating glottalization follows forms of L instead of being placed over it.

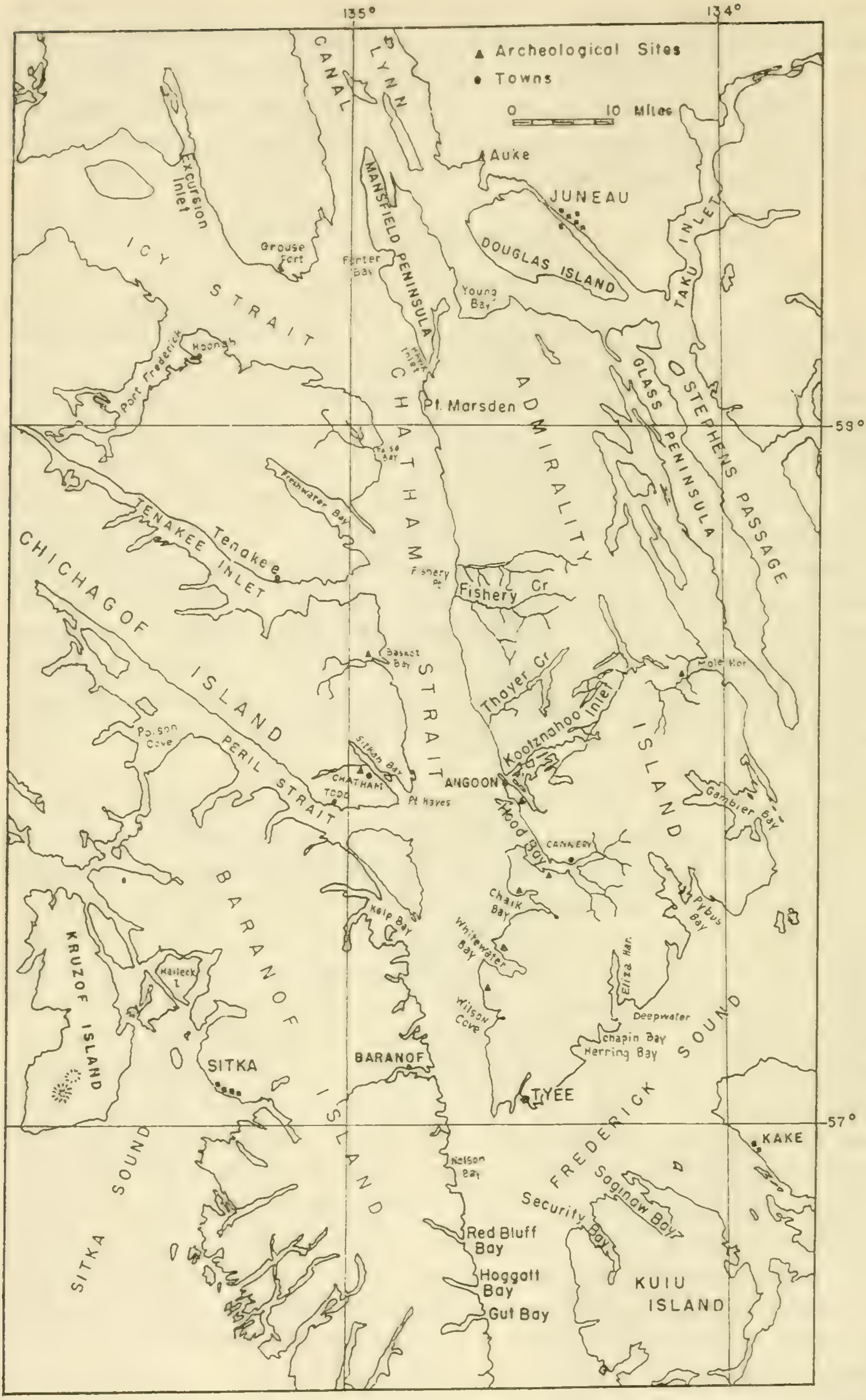
135°
134°
59°
57°
▲ Archeological Sites
● Towns
0 10 Miles
LYNN CANAL
Auke
JUNEAU
DOUGLAS ISLAND
TAKU INLET
Excursion Inlet
ICY STRAIT
Grouse Fort
Porter Bay
MANSFIELD PENINSULA
Young Bay
Hoonah
Port Frederick
CHATHAM
Pt. Marsden
ADMIRALITY
GLASS PENINSULA
STEPHENS PASSAGE
False Bay
Freshwater Bay
TENAKEE INLET
Tenakee
CHICHAGOF ISLAND
Fishery Pt.
Fishery Cr
Basket Bay
STRAIT
Thayer Cr
Kootznahoo Inlet
Mole Har
ISLAND
Poison Cove
PERIL STRAIT
Sitkoh Bay
CHATHAM
TODD
Pt Hayes
ANGOON
Hood Bay
CANNERY
Gambier Bay
BARANOF
Kelp Bay
Chaik Bay
Whitewater Bay
Pybus Bay
KRUZOF ISLAND
Halleck I.
Eliza Har.
Wilson Cove
Deepwater
Chapin Bay
Herring Bay
SOUND
SITKA
BARANOF
TYEE
FREDERICK
ISLAND
KAKE
SITKA SOUND
Nelson Bay
Saginaw Bay
Security Bay
Red Bluff Bay
Hoggatt Bay
Gut Bay
KUIU ISLAND

FIGURE 1.—The home of the Angoon people and adjoining territories. Drawn by Irene Waraksa.

Their geographical position marks the Angoon people as one of the most southerly of the northern Tlingit. Their territory adjoins that of the Hoonah and Sitka on the north and west, the Kake on the south, and the Taku and Auke on the east and northeast. Because of their situation on the central axis of the inland fiord system they are neither oriented as strongly toward the open sea as are the more maritime Tlingit groups, nor as exclusively toward the rivers and inland bays as are the mainland tribes. Since their islands lack certain natural resources, these were formerly obtained in trade from their neighbors. The Angoon people were and are accomplished boatmen, for great skill in handling small craft is required to penetrate the dangerous channels of Kootznahoo Inlet, through which the tides rise like rivers, or to travel on Chatham Strait which is exposed to the full violence of southeasterly storms.

The Angoon people are described by Swanton (1907, pt. 1, p. 592) in the Handbook of American Indians as:

> *Hutsnuwu* ('grizzly bear fort'). A Tlingit tribe on the w. and s. coasts of Admiralty id., Alaska; pop. estimated at 300 in 1840, and given as 666 in 1880 and 420 in 1890. Their former towns were Angun and Nahltushkan, but they now live at Killisnoo. [Since the above was written, the population has been concentrated at Angoon, and the other towns are deserted.] Their social divisions [sibs] are Ankakehittan, Daktlawedi, Deshuhittan, Tekoedi, and Wushketan.

Swanton gives their native name as X̣ūts!nuwū′, and lists such variants as Chūts-ta-kŏn (Krause), Chútznou (Holmberg), Hootz-ah-tar-qwan (Emmons), and Koohznahoo (Petroff), etc.

Our informants referred to themselves as xutsnuwuwedi, "People of the Brown Bear's Fort." This name is appropriate both from their point of view and ours. According to tradition, when the people first came to the site of Angoon ('àngún "Isthmus Town"), a narrow strip of land between Kootznahoo Inlet on Admiralty Island and Chatham Strait, there were no trees on this peninsula and a bear or bears were seen walking around. So the people named the place xuts nuwu "Brown Bear's Fort." The name is also applied to Admiralty Island as a whole, xutsnuwu x̓at̓ "Brown Bear's Fort Island," and the east side of the island is sometimes referred to as xutsnuwu 'ᴀt̓ek̓ "That behind the Brown Bear's Fort." The expression xutsnuwu łít'ᴀ̀, translated as "Sharp Nose [or knife] of the Brown Bear's Fort," is applied both (?) to the north end of the whole island, and to Danger Point at the end of Angoon Peninsula.

Admiralty Island is noted today for its large population of brown grizzlies, and has been set aside as a preserve for them. The woods and bushes near Angoon are a favorite resort of bears, and hardly a week passes in summer without someone either seeing a bear or finding fresh bear signs, incidents which furnish anxious and excited topics of conversation. In both 1949 and 1950 the townspeople were particularly concerned because a family of bears had made their home in the berry patches on the peninsula northwest of the town, and the excitement caused by sighting one of them on the very day of our arrival in 1950 was probably why the tradition of the name was the first piece of ethnographic information to be volunteered. There was talk of organizing a party to dispose of these dangerous neighbors, but it came to nothing, probably because none of the men was an experienced bear hunter, and enthusiasm soon gave way to caution. For weeks people kept watching for the reappearance of the bears on the beach near the graveyard, or anticipated the reported coming of a game commissioner to kill them. We were not only entertained with bear stories—supernatural, heroic, or ludicrous—but the people kept impressing us with the dangers of venturing unarmed into the woods, and took care to instruct us in the traditional Tlingit speeches to be made to a bear should one be encountered. Despite all the fearful excitement, the native children continued to bicycle along the road through the woods to Killisnoo Harbor and the women and children went into the favorite bear haunts to gather berries.

The Angoon people recognize that they form a local community, but express this by saying that they are a group of "tribes" or "nations," that is, a group of sibs. Although Angoon is now actually a political unit, composed of "the Indians having a common bond of residence in the neighborhood of Angoon," (to quote from the Corporate Charter and the Constitution, adopted November 15, 1939), there was formerly no common bond but the purely social one of residence, and even that was more tenuous during the last century when there were several distinct villages. When we speak of "Angoon tribal territory," therefore, we really refer to the territories or places claimed or used by the lineages and sibs formerly resident in those separate but affiliated villages and by their present descendants now living together in Angoon. It is not easy to define the limits of these sib territories (i. e., to determine the exact status of certain outlying localties), because a number of Angoon sibs have local branches in other tribal centers: at Juneau, Hoonah, and Sitka, each of which claimed or claims territorial rights. As local subsibs or lineages died off in one tribe, their relatives in other tribes have claimed or used their hunting and fishing places. Furthermore, transfers from sib to sib of territorial rights, through war or peaceful settlements, have resulted in shifts of boundaries (Garfield, 1947, p. 452).

Nevertheless, the xutsnuwuwedi obviously did and do feel themselves to be a distinct group, and recognize closer social and linguistic affiliations with other northern Tlingit tribes (to use the term in its ordinary sense) than with tribes to the south. Frederick Sound is felt to be something of a cultural and dialectical frontier. There is also an awareness that the Tlingit as a whole form one people, distinct from the Haida and Tsimshian to the south, the G̣unana or Athabaskans of the Interior, and the "Aleuts over to the westward" across the Gulf of Alaska. The Haida and Tsimshian are not only more like themselves, but also live in southeastern Alaska, which is essentially the Tlingit world.

The sense of Tlingit unity has certainly found expression and been fostered by the creation of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), originally founded as a pan-Indian organization to secure native rights, prevent discrimination by the whites, and further native welfare. Although planned to include all native groups in Alaska, it has remained predominantly Tlingit.

There are now about 350 members of the Angoon community, almost all of whom live within the narrow limits of the town. They are divided into five matrilineal sibs that have lineage houses and territorial rights in the area. In the Raven moiety are the Decitan, "People of the End of the (Beaver) Trail House," referring to the story of the founding of Angoon (see pp. 131 ff.). This is the largest and most important sib in the community. The "Basket (Bay) People" (qᴀkwedi, from q‘ᴀk$^{w‘}$ "basket") form a somewhat distinct subdivision of the Decitan. The second Raven sib is the 'Anx̣akhıtan, "People of the Middle of the Village House," who also refer to themselves as the "Dog Salmon People" after their main crest, or as L'ınedi to emphasize their close relationship to the sib of that name at Juneau. They are recognized as having originated from one of the Decitan lineages.

In the Eagle (or Wolf) moiety are the Teq^{w}edi, sometimes called the "Brown Bear People" (xutsq^{w}an); the Dᴀqł'awedi, also called the "Killer Whale People" (kitq^{w}an); and the Wᴜckitan, "People of the Over-all House." The last sib was originally divided into three branches: (1) Auke Bay or Juneau ('àk̓^{w} wᴜckitan), (2) Freshwater Bay on Chichagof Island (asánk̓e wᴜckitan), and (3) Angoon (xutsnuwu wᴜckitan). The last were apparently very closely related to lineages at Sitka; in fact, our informant did not distinguish between them. The "true Angoon Wᴜckitan" became extinct in 1947 or 1948, and the present representatives of the sib at Angoon are descendants of the Freshwater Bay division who have inherited the rights of their Angoon relatives. There are also some Wᴜckitan men from Juneau, and some Kagwantan men ("People of the Burned Down House"), mostly from Sitka, and a few individuals from other tribes and sibs, who have married Angoon women and who live in Angoon, although they are still outsiders because they have no lineage houses in the village.

A number of Angoon men and women have married out of the town, or have left for other reasons, although they would be treated as citizens if they returned. In addition, the 'Anx̣̓akhıtan, Teqʷedi, and Dᴀqł'awedi, like the Wᴜckitan, have branches among other tribes: Auke, Chilkat, Sitka, and Hoonah, and it is with these groups that the Angoon people have their closest links.

ANGOON LAND

The world of the people of Angoon is made by the wide arms of the sea, straits that one day may be calm as oily ponds and the next be lashed into a fury of whitecaps. From these main thoroughfares the fiords lead deep into the land, some offering safe haven and easy passage for canoes, others becoming narrow canyons for fierce tidal rivers. The sea dominates both the life and death of the people. Of those who escape the swift devastation of epidemics or the slow rot of tuberculosis, unknown before the white man's coming, a great many die by drowning. Often drunkenness can be blamed for the accident, yet curiously this makes the death less horrible in native eyes, because of the belief that the body of a drunken man will float and can be recovered. Those who were never found, according to the old pagan dogma, could not enjoy the warm afterworld reserved for those whose bodies were cremated, but were doomed to wander in the guise of land otters, lurking to kidnap the shipwrecked or children lost in the woods whom they transformed into creatures like themselves. Special magical precautions were enjoined on persons who had once been in danger of drowning and who had escaped, lest the water claim them again. Enough of these attitudes persist today to make drowning the most dreaded and tragic of deaths, and the land otter an unpleasant animal to encounter. Although stories of particular drownings are attached to localities, these do not seem to be places to shun. The horror belongs more to the manner of death than to the place, although the spot may be recognized as dangerous. Rather, the attitude is that local knowledge and skill (and sometimes in the old days the use of a respectful formula for addressing the water) can make these places safe. Treacherous waters are dangerous only to strangers, i. e., enemies, while the rocky headlands and precipitous islands that rise above the currents and reefs were formerly places of refuge for the people in time of war.

The sea is also the source of life. From the deeps each year come the hordes of salmon to spawn in the streams. In the old days, we are told, the runs were so heavy that a few fish traps could supply all that a large household (20 to 40 persons) could eat in a year, and no special magic was necessary for salmon fishing. Schools of herring used to crowd so tightly into the bays that a strong arm was needed to drive the fish rake through the mass of their bodies. With them came the harbor seals, porpoises, and whales. Fur seals, sea lions and sea otters were killed in the outer waters. (Actually, as we shall see, there were many sea otters in the bays, although this is now forgotten.) Deep holes were the hiding places of devilfish. A few were said to be so large that they could swallow whole villages and could render murky all the water in a bay; "ordinary" devilfish, however, furnished the bait for halibut hooks. These old-style hooks, when rendered lucky by virtue of their names, their carvings, and the spells said to them, caught only the largest halibut, it is claimed, unlike the white man's hook that kills fish before they have attained their full size. The moving tides along the shores still uncover an abundance of edible seaweed, salt grass, and shellfish. One only has to be careful not to eat mussels during the season when the salmonberries flower and bear their fruit, for then mussels are poisonous.[5]

The land, however, rises steep and somber from the rocky shores or from the narrow flats along the water's edge. Under the dense forests of hemlock, spruce, fir, and cedar it is always dark. Festoons of moss drip from the trees, and a wet slippery carpet of moss hides the fallen logs. Old clearings soon become choked with elderberries, salmonberries, blueberries, etc., and within a short distance of the village the women and children can pick heavy buckets or baskets of fruit. The devilclub, thorny of leaf and branch, stabs the unwary passer-by, but once furnished magical protection against disease if pieces were nailed to the corners of the house. Weeds, too, could be used for medicines and charms. In the forests and swamps there are still deer, bear, beaver, and other fur bearers.

Although the country of the Angoon people is actually composed of islands, these have almost the character of the mainland. They are so large that their true size and nature can be fully appreciated only from a plane. Above the timbered slopes rise steep volcanic peaks, 3,000 to 4,000 feet high, which served as refuges during the Flood, and today furnish magical means of controlling or predicting the weather. The larger islands have small glaciers. The interior is not often traversed, and the dangers of becoming lost in the woods are recognized. It was inland that the supernatural beings were most likely to be encountered in the old days.

The land supplies some food, and also most of the materials needed for aboriginal tools and manufactures. Aside from sealskin floats, kelp fishing lines, and mussel-shell knives, almost everything else was made from the rocks and plants of the land, but these were sought on the beach or as close to the water as possible. The woodworker in the old days used a greenstone adz, sandstone or shale whetstone, and minerals for paint. Trees furnished the posts and planks for the house, bark for temporary dwellings, logs for canoes. Even the boxes and baskets in which food was stored and cooked were made of wood and spruce roots, and were stained with vegetable dyes. Deer bones were preferred for awls and harpoon points.

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[5] Cases of mussel poisoning, resulting in paralysis and death, are well known in both the early and the modern history of Alaska. The mussels become poisoned by microorganisms that multiply during the summer (cf. de Laguna, 1956, pp. 6 f.).

But the land was in a real sense only the back drop for the life which faced the salt water. Most of the village sites were small flats, cramped between the beach and the steep hillside, and where space permitted the houses were ranged in a line just above the water. Sites for settlements were chosen more for a good landing beach for canoes than for convenient access by trail to inland hunting or trapping grounds. Summer villages and camps might be far up the bays near the salmon streams, but for the winter village of permanent houses the people prized a view of the more open waters across which the canoes of their friends or of their enemies might be seen approaching. The hunter went inland as little as possible, and tried to train his dogs to drive the deer to where he waited on the beach. Obviously, heavy timbers were cut near the water and were towed, not carried, to their destinations. Even in death the people remained near the beach. The cemeteries, now and in the past, are on the slopes close behind the houses or on the shore beyond the end of the village. A shaman's grave always faced across the water from some headland or cave in the cliff above the shore, and those who paddled past usually cast a small offering into the water for his ghost.

Almost all the place names which we secured referred to bodies of salt water (bays, coves), the streams that enter it, islands, points, rocks on the shore, or to mountaintops visible from the water. Had we been able to go inland with a guide we might have secured names for hills, tributary streams, etc., but it is probably significant that not one of our informants mentioned such specific features of the land, except for a few lakes in which the sockeye salmon spawn.[6] The Tlingit world is essentially the ribbon of the shoreline that winds along the indented coasts of the islands and fiords. Its parts are linked by boat routes across the open water. Only in certain places does the world expand with arms that run inland up the streams to some lake or to a trail that links the headwaters of two bays.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES IN GENERAL

As will be seen from the more detailed descriptions that follow, the archeological sites comprise chiefly: (1) sites of former villages, most of which served for a time as summer camping places after the inhabitants had moved to Angoon, and which are now all but abandoned, (2) sites of forts on high points or small islands, and (3) a few localities with petroglyphs or pictographs. Other localities are prominent rocks or landmarks that are supposed to have been shaped by or are otherwise associated with supernatural agencies.

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[6] Krause, 1885, p. 151: The Tlingit distinguish and name only useful valleys, bays, streams, etc., not mountains.

Perhaps our greatest surprise was that the village sites should be so small in extent and so meager in cultural deposits. They had been described to us as places where many people once lived, but we found nothing to indicate more than half a dozen houses at any one place, and usually fewer. A house might hold from 10 to almost 40 persons, with 20 as a fair average. At these sites, too, there was little to suggest a lengthy occupation. Generally speaking, the larger the area that might have been inhabited, the thinner and scantier the traces of midden. Since the land has apparently, from all observable signs, risen very slightly in this area, we cannot explain the meagerness of the archeological record as due to destruction by the encroaching sea.[7] On the contrary, the older sites would be expected to be safe above the present limits of the tide. We must, however, note the statement made by Vancouver about evidence for subsidence of the land in this area, especially since his observations of subsidence in Prince William Sound have been confirmed both by survey parties of the United States Geological Survey and by my own archeological work (de Laguna, 1956, pp. 3 f.). Thus Vancouver writes:

> [Lt. Whidbey] states, that in his last two excursions [when he explored Icy Strait and Lynn Canal, and circumnavigated Admiralty Island] several places were seen, where the ocean was evidently encroaching very rapidly on the land, and the low borders extending from the base of the mountains to the sea side, had, at no very remote period of time, produced tall and stately timber; as many of their dead trunks were found standing erect, and still rooted fast in the ground, in different stages of decay; those being most perfect that had been least subject to the influence of the salt water, by which they were surrounded on every flood tide; such had been the encroachment of the ocean on these shores, that the shorter stumps in some instances at low water mark, were even with, or below the surface of the sea. [Vancouver, 1801, vol. 6, pp. 53 f.]

These observations may, of course, refer only to the areas north of Cross Sound, but if they apply to regions to the south, then we must believe that the relative subsidence of the land here reported must have been obscured by a relative uplift which occurred since 1794. If this were the case, sites in the Angoon area may indeed have been destroyed or well hidden.

At many sites, the configuration of the land is such that only a limited area seems to have been available for settlement, and here our test pits probably revealed fairly accurately the archeological character of the site. In other places, where we searched the adjacent woods as well as the obvious clearing, we could find no trace of early occupation. There were often the ridges of abandoned potato gardens, now overgrown with young trees, but nothing more ancient in the soil itself. Of course, negative evidence of this kind cannot be taken as conclusive. It is almost impossible to sink a test pit in the forest, because the interlaced roots of the trees are all but impenetrable, and more digging than we were able to accomplish would be necessary to prove that there was, for example, no hidden site in the woods behind the flat at Chaik Bay.

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[7] Buddington (1927) summarizes the evidence for uplift in southeastern Alaska south of Cross Sound and Icy Strait. There was subsidence of at least 20 feet in Glacier Bay, north of Cross Sound, since the climax of glacial advance about 150 to 200 years ago.

The situation can, perhaps, be better understood by referring to two sites at Mole Harbor, on the east side of Admiralty Island, although these are in the territory of the Taku tribe. The late Allen Hasselborg showed us these sites in 1949. The younger of the two, apparently founded within historic times and abandoned in 1895, is on a gravel bar at the mouth of a salmon stream at the head of the bay. It can be reached by canoe at high tide. Mr. Hasselborg said there were once two or three houses here, of which nothing now remains but a few stakes. There is a deep trench cut into the gravel bank, in which a canoe could have been sheltered under mats. The older site is on a higher terrace, on the same side of the stream, but a quarter of a mile above the mouth. According to native tradition, salt water at high tide once reached half a mile up the stream, to where Mr. Hasselborg built his cabin. At that time, the bar on which the newer settlement was located would have been under water, and canoes could have gone up to the older settlement. When Mr. Hasselborg started in 1916 to clear the older site for a garden, there was no visible sign of former occupation, for the site was hidden by timber 90 to 100 years old, he judged by the tree rings. Under one tree he found the remains of a still older stump which had been cut with a stone adz. This site was said to have been abandoned when the original Taku inhabitants were massacred by natives from Wrangell.

Had this place not been selected for a garden, it is doubtful if the site would ever have been found, for there would have been nothing to suggest its existence in the forest a good quarter of a mile up a stream which is now too shallow for a boat. Yet here Mr. Hasselborg has found quantities of artifacts. The only specimen of White manufacture was an old-fashioned axhead, which was probably lost by a woodcutter from the newer village downstream. Mr. Hasselborg judged that there had been about three houses facing the stream, with a shelly midden behind them. Practically all his finds were made within 10 inches of the surface. The quantities of fire-cracked rocks in the upper layers of the old site are very impressive; he used them to make a retaining wall along the whole edge of the terrace.

In the test pit which we were permitted to dig, we found the following: the upper 10 inches of soil were disturbed by gardening; 10–24 inches below the surface was humus with shells of mussel, cockle, and sea urchin, and some animal bones; below this the deposit became increasingly stoney, with a "pavement" of shale fragments in rich black earth; at 36 inches was sterile white clay.

Most of the artifacts found by Mr. Hasselborg have been given to the Alaska Territorial Museum at Juneau, but he generously presented us with the following specimens:[8] broken splitting adz, celt, 3 slate chisels, maul head, 2 heads for war club or war pick, 10 pestles or hand-hammer fragments (the oldest found in white clay about 30 inches below the surface), 14 slabs of slate or shale and 2 of sandstone (smoothed on both surfaces, and some neatly beveled along the edges, used as whetstones, etc.), 2 paddle-shaped slate scrapers, 2 slate chips with naturally sharp edges (very common here, and probably used as knives), 4 fragments of slate blades (one with a drilled hole and another with cuts made by a stone saw), tanged and barbed harpoon head of whalebone, and fragments of worked bone and stone. Since these specimens represented only a fraction of those found by Mr. Hasselborg, it is evident that this site was once very rich.

The lesson to be learned is that the oldest Tlingit sites may well escape detection, owing to changes in sea level and the growth of the forests. Excavation of such sites would require great labor in clearing away trees and stumps before the real archeological work could begin. Our archeological information is likely, therefore, to be derived from such sites as have been occupied up to recent years or have recently been cleared again.

The scantiness of the remains of what appear to be old sites within the Angoon area (especially at Whitewater and Sitkoh Bays) needs explanation. Even these most promising village sites contrast strikingly with the reported forts (Pillsbury Point, Daxatkanada Island, Marten Fort in Hood Bay), where there were not only real shelly middens but artifacts. The soil in southeastern Alaska is naturally very sour, and unless a shell midden has accumulated, the acidity of the soil destroys bone material in a relatively short time. Furthermore, the shells, while encouraging the growth of berry bushes, apparently prevent for some time the growth of conifers, and therefore make sites with shell middens much easier to find and excavate and much more rewarding in bone contents. But why should sites with shell middens apparently contain more stone artifacts than sites without middens, since stone is virtually indestructible?

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[8] University of Pennsylvania Museum, catalog Nos. 49-25-60 to -106.

One has the impression that the same habits that led to the accumulation of middens were also responsible for the losing of artifacts in them; that conversely, where such kitchen refuse is not present, artifacts of all types are much rarer. Again we must go outside the Angoon area for an example which may offer an explanation. Near Yakutat there is a village site with several house pits. Test holes dug in one house and in a few places between the houses revealed only clean sterile sand below the humus. According to local tradition, the inhabitants of this village used to sweep the place every evening with eagle wings and throw the rubbish into the bay. This tradition would seem to be verified by archeology, except that some kitchen refuse and artifacts had been deposited in certain places between the houses to form mounds of midden. Today, the streets, paths, and yards of Angoon and other Tlingit settlements are relatively clear of trash; all garbage and refuse and discarded artifacts are thrown onto the beach, where they are eventually washed away or buried by silt and gravel. Whether this practice may have originated because of notions that fish and sea mammal remains must be returned to the sea, we cannot say, but it evidently represents a deep-seated habit of the Tlingit. This certainly distinguishes them from the Eskimo, whose past and present houses are built on or in the accumulated middens of generations, and whose house cleaning is apt to consist of little more than throwing refuse out the door. It would appear, therefore, that the old village sites in the Angoon area are relatively sterile because the inhabitants threw their rubbish into the sea. Exceptions would be special trash mounds or pits (abandoned house sites or underground caches) which may have been used for the disposal of some remains. Especially where houses were built with platforms projecting over the beach, we should expect that all or almost all that might interest the archeologist would have been lost to the sea. Only heavy and indestructible stone artifacts would be expected to have survived on the beaches, and it is indeed there that many of our stone adzes were found.

But these habits do not seem to have prevailed to the same extent at the places used as forts. Here rubbish and discarded artifacts have accumulated on the surface or spilled down the slopes, and here the archeologist is likely to find the richest rewards. Unfortunately, however, because these sites were not permanent settlements—at least not in most cases—but temporary refuges, we should not expect to find there the best pieces of carved bone and stone, which would have been left behind at the winter lineage houses or carefully hidden.[9] An impression based upon the artifacts found is likely to be of a much less rich culture than the prehistoric Tlingit actually possessed. Our knowledge of the development of Tlingit art will probably be limited almost entirely to the wood carving of historic times, recorded in pictures or preserved in museums, except for the designs pecked or painted on rocks, and the latter, as far as we can tell, exhibit styles of their own.

ADMIRALTY ISLAND NORTH OF KOOTZNAHOO INLET

The Angoon people probably had no territorial claims in the west coast of Admiralty Island north of Point Marsden or Hawk Inlet. Mansfield Peninsula on the very northwest corner of the island lay beyond their territories. Hawk Inlet on the west of the Peninsula, like Young Bay on the east, probably belonged to the Auke Bay or Juneau branch of the Wᴜckitan, and there were once many of them living near Young Bay.[10] The area between Point Marsden and Fishery Point, like the opposite shore of Chichagof Island from False Bay to Tenakee Inlet inclusive, was also Wᴜckitan territory, belonging to the Freshwater Bay division, although there do not seem to have been any permanent settlements on this part of Admiralty Island. Goldschmidt and Haas (1946, pp. 112, 117) assign the area south of Florence or Fishery Creek to the Decitan, and report a former Decitan graveyard between Marble Bluffs and Parker Point in the middle of this stretch, but deny that there were any permanent camps in the area. Certainly the coastline is relatively straight, with few features such as streams, islands, coves, etc., which might have attracted settlement. Our informants had little to say about it, and it probably had little meaning for them except as scenery to be passed in going to Juneau or Hoonah.

THAYER CREEK

We were told that there had been an old village at Thayer Creek ("Poison Water"), about 4 miles north of Angoon. The stream is called wᴀtkasatᴇ (possibly wᴀt "stream mouth," k‘ᴀ "on," and ṡàt‘í "master of"), and is a sockeye stream that flows from a lake. A white man reported pictures on the rocks just north of the stream mouth, said to resemble a moon and an eye, but a native who had landed here many times to hunt had neither seen nor heard of them. He agreed that there is an old clearing south of the stream mouth, like a garden, with only young spruce growing on it. We were unable to visit this place.

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[9] Lisiansky (1814, p. 160, note) reports finding near old Sitka a cache of cloth and dried fish. "The inhabitants of Sitca sound always conceal in the woods such things as they do not immediately want, to prevent their being stolen, which would be the case if they kept them in their houses."

[10] Vancouver (1801, vol. 6, p. 21) reports many natives living on or near Young Bay.

South of Thayer Creek and a little over 2 miles north of Angoon is a small island, x̓áťᴀ̀k^{w}. On the cliffs behind the island there was formerly a shaman's grave, like a little log cabin, with a canoe behind it. This was visible some 30 years ago, but the grave house has since fallen down. We were told to avoid the place, because, according to the old-fashioned belief, a shaman's ghost is dangerous to intruders and may cause an illness to which women are particularly susceptible, and which may prove fatal to persons not belonging to the dead man's sib. About 1,200 yards south of the island is a waterfall, x̓ᴀsk̓ "little waterfall".

KOOTZNAHOO HEAD

This high bluff, Kootznahoo Head, which marks the entrance to Kootznahoo Inlet, is called t‘at‘úk^{w}‘ x̣̓ayı (?) "mouth of the cave." Here there is said to be a cave under the water, to which a Dᴀqł’awedi shaman was carried miraculously from Hood Bay by a crane (see p. 141). Near here there is a place where it used to be possible to climb to the top of the cliff by means of a notched log, and the spot is called in consequence k̓úx^{w} tṡetk̓ı (?) "Marten's Small Ladder." The ladder is mentioned in one version of the story of Daxatkanada (see p. 151). Material for black paint used to be obtained from the bluffs under Kootznahoo Head.

KOOTZNAHOO INLET

According to the Coast Pilot:[11]

> Kootznahoo Inlet, comprising an area of about 15 square miles, is an intricate group of narrow passages, lagoons and bays . . . It is full of rocks and reefs, and through the narrow passages the tidal currents rush with great velocity.

This area is rich in game and other natural resources and has therefore attracted settlement (fig. 2). Angoon, the only village left in the whole region, is on the narrow isthmus between the Inlet and Chatham Strait, about 1 mile above (southeast of) the mouth of the Inlet. Visible from Angoon and within a radius of 1½ miles, are a series of abandoned or semiabandoned native summer camps and a few cabins occupied by white men. Many of these camps mark the sites of earlier settlements. These places are all on the lower part of the Inlet, most of them in relatively quiet waters, although navigation to them from Angoon is dangerous or impossible at certain stages of the tide. Along the western side of the Inlet between Angoon and Danger Point at the end of Angoon Peninsula, there are a few smokehouses which can be reached by skiff along the slack water close to shore. There are

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[11] United States Coast Pilot, Alaska, 1943, pt. 1, pp. 339–341, describes the inlet.

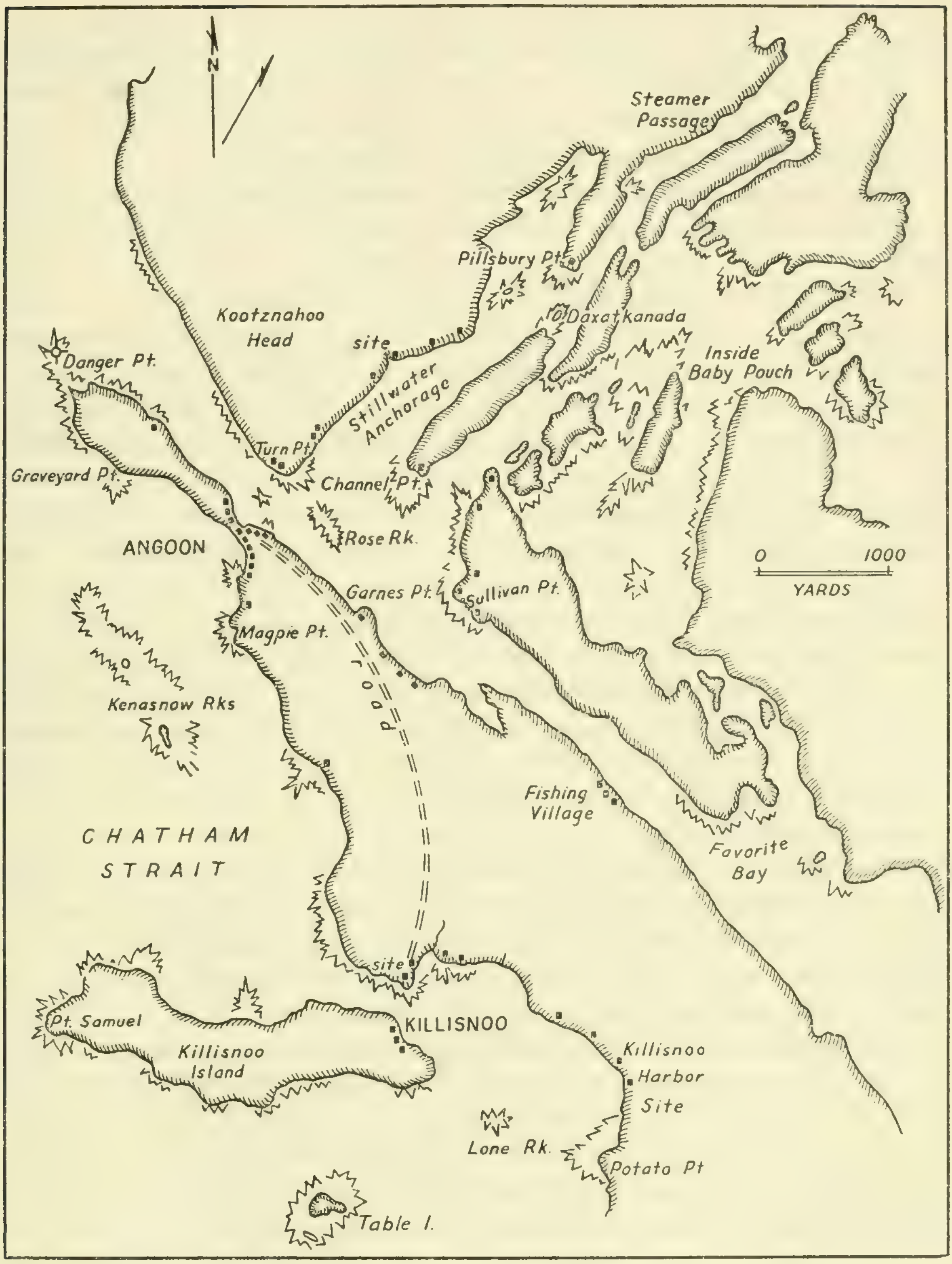
N
Steamer Passage
Pillsbury Pt.
Kootznahoo Head
site
Stillwater Anchorage
Daxatkanada
Inside Baby Pouch
Danger Pt.
Turn Pt.
Graveyard Pt.
Channel Pt.
ANGOON
Rose Rk.
0 1000 YARDS
Garnes Pt.
Sullivan Pt.
Magpie Pt.
road
Kenasnow Rks
Fishing Village
CHATHAM STRAIT
Favorite Bay
site
Pt. Samuel
KILLISNOO
Killisnoo Island
Killisnoo Harbor Site
Lone Rk.
Potato Pt
Table I.

FIGURE 2.—Map of vicinity of Angoon.

other smokehouses and cabins at Turn Point directly across from Angoon; along Stillwater Anchorage northeast of Turn Point; at Pillsbury Point at the head of the anchorage; at Channel Point on the island forming the south shore of the anchorage; at Sullivan Point at the entrance to Favorite Bay on the southeast; and, lastly, on the Angoon side of the Inlet, along the cove opposite Sullivan Point and on what we may call Garnes Point from the name of the present white owner. Boats entering the Inlet may anchor for a short time in the cove at Angoon or moor at high water at the docks of the two stores, but the safe place where the natives keep their seine boats is still farther up, at the entrance to Favorite Bay.

The entrance to Kootznahoo Inlet between Danger Point and Kootznahoo Head is only about half a mile wide, and at Turn Point it is still narrower. Here, to quote again from the Coast Pilot (ibid.): "it divides into three arms; the southernmost continues in a southeasterly direction 2 miles to Favorite Bay; the northernmost extends eastward for 5 miles to Mitchell Bay; the middle arm, also extending eastward, leads among the islands." Since the middle arm lacks an English name, we shall refer to it by its Tlingit designation, ťuk'qa [t'uk' g̣ᴇ?], which our informants translated as "Inside the Baby Pouch," [possibly "cradle bay"?]. It comprises a series of shallow lagoons, most of which go dry at low water, but which connect with Mitchell Bay and Favorite Bay.

Between Turn Point and Angoon is Village Rock, yax-łɪ-hᴀc (perhaps yàx̣-łɪ-hᴀ́c "aboard it drifts"?), and half a mile above this is Rose Rock. Here the tidal currents rush past at 5 to 8 knots, making great swirls and eddies. Rose Rock is a gathering place for cormorants, gulls, and other sea birds, except when covered at high water. It marks the central point toward which converge the waters from the three arms of the Inlet.

"Kootznahoo Inlet is called i.kłen and was claimed by the Decitan people." Our informants, however, applied this name (iʟen) specifically to Steamer Passage (see below), and we failed to learn any name for the Inlet as a whole. A number of oratorical expressions that are used by the Decitan at potlatches refer to places on the Inlet. In the following discussion we shall treat each of the three arms of the Inlet in turn, before describing Angoon. We begin with the northern arm which affords the main entrance to Mitchell and Kanalku Bays. The lowest part of this arm is known as Stillwater Anchorage, which extends about 1¼ miles from Turn Point to Pillsbury Point, and is bounded on the south by Channel Point Island.

TURN POINT

Turn Point lies directly across the Inlet from Angoon. Although there are always eddies even at slack water, the natives row across apparently without great concern. At Turn Point there are a few cabins belonging to Decitan and Wᴜckitan men and remains of formerly extensive gardens. The point is called yᴀxt'ᴀ duwudᴀ́ (?) "the current hits the point on both sides" (?). This is supposed to have been the first place settled by the Decitan after they had moved from Killisnoo Harbor on Chatham Strait below Angoon. Since there was so much tidal current here, they later moved from Turn Point about 700 yards northeast into Stillwater Anchorage. Although we were told that stone "axes" (splitting adzes) and small bone labrets had been found in gardens at Turn Point, we saw only scanty traces of midden, but may have failed to discover the most promising area for archeological work.

STILLWATER ANCHORAGE

The Decitan who moved from Turn Point founded qɪx̣ᴀtuán (qex̣ᴇtuán, qɪẋituán, or qɪx̣ɪtuán), translated by an informant as "Log Jam Village." (It is possibly g̣ᴇx̣et‘ᴜ-’an, "Inside-the-mouth-of-the-bay Village.") This is on the northwest shore of Stillwater Anchorage, just north of a small stream. From here, people later settled at Sullivan Point. According to one informant, it was hunters from Stillwater Anchorage who followed the beaver to Angoon Isthmus and so came to settle at Angoon, although we gather from his remarks that Decitan from Killisnoo Harbor and Sullivan Point also joined them in this move. According to another story, it was at Stillwater Anchorage that a man discovered his wife's lover in a box, an incident which led to the separation of the Decitan and the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi, (see p. 133).

A white man, Charley Anderson, lives at the reported site of "Log Jam Village," having purchased the land and cabin from an Indian. His garden, which runs along a shelf of high ground for about 30 feet northeast of his cabin, shows traces of shells in the ground, suggestive of only a small camp. Since he has never found any artifacts here, the native tradition of a village remains unverified.

There are a number of houses, cabins, and smokehouses between Anderson's place and Turn Point, and between his house and Pillsbury Point, most of them belonging to Decitan residents of Angoon.

PILLSBURY POINT AND DAXATKANADA ISLAND

Pillsbury Point is the tongue of land, running southwest, that marks the lower end of the narrow channel, Steamer Passage, which leads into Mitchell Bay at the eastern end of Kootznahoo Inlet. The rocky headland at the end of the point, yaicai nu, "Whale's Head Fort," and the small island, Daxatkanada, "Where the tide passes back and forth," 300 yards southwest of the point, are reported to have been forts, and would in fact have guarded the entrance to Steamer Passage. It is impossible to go above them except with a favorable tide near slack water. Pillsbury Point belonged to the Wuckitan and Daxatkanada Island to the Decitan, and both seem to have been abandoned after defeats. Since most of our archeological work was done at these two places, especially on the island, a detailed description of these sites will be postponed to a separate section. The stories about them will be found on pages 150–152.

STEAMER PASSAGE

The narrow channel, Steamer Passage, about 1¼ miles long and 200 yards wide, leads into a larger body of water which eventually opens into Mitchell Bay. Savage tidal currents rush through the passage, giving it the name ’iyʟen or iʟen, “Strong or Great Tidal Rapids.” The Coast Pilot reports velocities of 10 knots, but our informants spoke of 12 to 14, and “after going further, it gets more swift. Sometimes you look through the water and the waves come together—it’s like you look through a tunnel. If you go down there in a row boat, you don’t come back no more. That’s the end of your life.” Another said: “When going through the pass, you must sit still in the boat and not talk, or the tide will get excited and turn you over.” Near the upper end of the passage is a rock called “Raven’s Halibut,” yeł tcaʟi. “It is like the picture of the halibut, but the tail has now fallen off.” When coming down, it was customary to look at this landmark, for if the tide had fallen enough for the rock to go dry, it was too dangerous to attempt the passage. If safe to go, one should say “thank you” to the Halibut Rock, and then address the current: “[This is?] your own canoe—stretch your feet straight out!” (that is, “Don’t raise tide rips!”). A Decitan woman said that when women of her sib were going through the passage they would talk to the “fighting water,” “because it’s our water. We tell it we are Crow women.” During potlatches given by the Decitan at Angoon, it is customary to send out a junior (a nephew or grandson of the host) to “inspect the Halibut Rock.” He will report that “the tide is beginning to run pretty swift,” which means that the guests are not supposed to leave before morning.

When we were taken through Steamer Passage by the Kahklens, they were very careful to choose the correct stage of the tide and were also much concerned with the behavior of our small skiff. On our way back we arrived too early at the upper end of the passage and had to wait for about an hour, until the sound of the roaring water below us had subsided enough to indicate that we could proceed.

We were told that once women of the Raven and Eagle moieties had a canoe race up the passage. They went up side by side with the rising tide. No one won; it was just for fun.

Whereas the north shore of the passage is formed by Admiralty Island, the south shore is composed of a series of islands, unnamed on the chart, and beyond them is the maze of lagoons called the “Baby

Pouch." A narrow opening, 500 yards above Pillsbury Point, which connects with these lagoons, is called ca-iy-ᴀ́k̓^{w}, "Where the female tide runs" (?) (cf. 'uk^{w}' or 'ᴜk^{w}' "to boil"). This apparently is the place also referred to as "Ladies' Pass."

The cove on the north shore just above the end of Steamer Passage is called nᴀ́ndᴇ̀-x̣̓ᴀ-tᴀ́nk, "Its mouth faces (points) inside (backwards)," because the mouth of the bay faces upstream or northeast (nᴀ́ndᴇ̀).

MITCHELL BAY

Mitchell Bay is about 4½ miles long, from North and South Points at its lower end to the falls at its eastern end where it connects with a "salt lake." Since this lake discharges the flow from Hasselborg Creek, the water at the head of the bay is always brackish. This creek, a camp near the head of the bay, and Mitchell Bay itself are called xùniyé (cf. xún "northwind," and iyɪ "tidal current of"). The area at the head of the bay and up the creek was mentioned many times by the natives as wonderful hunting country, formerly very rich in beaver. Even the Tsimshian are said to have come here to hunt black bear for blankets. (This statement probably refers only to one specific occasion, if indeed it is at all true.) Special wood for canoes was formerly obtained up the Inlet, presumably in Mitchell Bay. According to Goldschmidt and Haas (1946, pp. 113 f.), Mitchell Bay and the Hasselborg Creek area belonged to the Teq^{w}edi, having been given to them by the Decitan. They also report that the former chief of the leading Teq^{w}edi house (Bear House) objected when an 'Anx̣akhɪtan man, whose Teq^{w}edi father had a cabin near the head of the bay, took a Wᴜckitan man hunting with him in this area. Presumably no objection was made to the son's hunting on his dead father's land, but the Wᴜckitan man came from Juneau and could claim no relationship to the owners.

Although we heard no reports of any sites in Mitchell Bay, we were told about a number of curiously shaped rocks, with which myths are connected. Our informants were unable to locate these for us on the chart, but implied that some were near the entrance to the Baby Pouch. Throughout Mitchell Bay there are a number of high rocky headlands, islands, and skerries which would naturally suggest fanciful interpretations.

One island is said to have had a natural arch. This is called "Raven's Mooring," yeł-x̣̓anᴀx̣-gwaʟɪ, (literally, "Raven mouth-through blow-of"). According to one version of the explanatory myth, old Raven and his wife were camping here. There were no rocks on the beach to which he could tie his canoe, only round boulders. He said: "Where are we going to tie our boat?" She got up and poked her finger through the rock and made a hole, so Raven tied his canoe to it. According to another informant, there is a high cliff here. "Raven came there with his wife. Maybe he had a power. His wife said: 'Maybe the boat is going to drift away.' He took his line. There was a hole right through the rock. He tied his boat there. There was a little lake right on top of the rock where he tied his canoe. Salt water went back and forth over that little pool year after year. When a person cuts his hand he puts it in a wash basin and the blood gets mixed up with the water. Raven put his hand in there [after he had cut it by punching it through the rock?], and the blood is still there. Salt water goes over it year after year, but it never changes its color. I don't know how many times I come there and I looked at it, but it never go away yet."

Another high rock is "Raven's Slave," yeł gux̣u. It was said by one informant to be the conspicuous high rock near the Teqʷedi camp at the eastern end of the bay, but others insisted that this rock was the "Adolescent Girl" (see below).

A group of rocks are said to be three brothers, a bear, and a dog that turned to stone when an adolescent girl looked at them. Then she too turned to stone. The three brothers are called nᴀśgináx̣ qa, "three men." As one informant explained: "They were walking across there. When a girl comes to woman, and it comes to be her monthly, they put a blanket or whatever it is over her, so she won't look out. She peeked out and the men turned to stone. She looked behind and there was a bear, and he turned to stone, and the stone is there yet. It doesn't really look like a bear, but it looks something like a bear—like a face." Another informant said: "A white rock is a woman, a wetedi [menstruant]. She shouldn't go outside, but she did. The water went down and she looked at the bear and it turned to stone. Another rock is the dog, keʟ. The high tide came and they all turned to stone. When you see those rocks, you must say: gᴜnałtcíc ’ᴀx̣sᴜtinᴇ ['Thank you, my supernatural helper'?]."

It is evident that we are dealing here with the concluding incident of the widely known Tlingit story of łq̓ayák̓ʷ. According to versions collected by Swanton (1909, Tale 31, pp. 105 f.) he was the youngest of three brothers who, with their sister, were born of a woman by a dog father. The little dog in the story is also one of the litter that did not change into human form. The brothers and their dog traveled all over, killing or subduing monsters of various sorts. They were coming down the Stikine River, when the sister, who was menstruating, violated the taboo and looked at them, because she heard her mother cry out that they were about to drown. Whereupon the three brothers, the dog, the mother, and the girl all turned to stone. (There is no mention of the bear in this version). Swanton's informant explained that passers-by formerly put pieces of their clothing into cracks in the rocks and prayed to the stones for long life. It is interesting that the Angoon people should have transferred the scene of this story from the Stikine River to Mitchell Bay.

Most of our informants agreed that the "menstruant" was the high rocky stack on the narrow point just east of the Teqʷedi man's camp on the north side of Mitchell Bay, about 1,200 yards below the falls from Salt Lake. The other characters are presumably rocks on this point, but could not be identified. A wooden cross was recently set up on the end of the point to commemorate the drowning here a few years ago of a woman and her adopted daughter. We camped at this place with the Kahklens, while on a fishing trip to the falls.

The falls from Salt Lake are yeł íyì, "Raven's Tidal Current." It is possible to enter or leave the lake only at extreme high tide when the falls are covered. It was here, according to one version of the story of Daxatkanada (see p. 151), that a war party from Wrangell was drowned. We were told that there was a hole in the rocks below the falls, apparently of mysterious origin and deeper than a man can reach with his arm. When a now middle-aged informant was a small boy, a huge fish trap was fastened to a pole set into this hole. Cohoe and sockeye salmon attempting to jump up the falls would tumble back into the trap. We did not hear of this hole until after our visit to the falls, and did not notice it.

Our trip to Mitchell Bay was too brief to permit of much exploration, but we were able to land on the point between South Point and the entrance to Davis Creek that leads to Kanalku Bay. The point is a high, narrow tongue of rock, shaped like a steamboat. It is unnamed on the chart, and we were unable to learn the native name. There is, however, a rock shelter about 40 feet long under the cliff on the northwest side of the point. Here we found traces of recent camp fires, and an older midden deposit into which we dug for 12 inches without reaching the bottom. There are no cultural deposits on top of the cliff.

KANALKU BAY

Opening south of Mitchell Bay is Davis Creek, a tidal channel some 2 miles long and 250 yards wide, at the southern end of which is Kanalku Bay, qaʟx or qaʟx̣̓ (probably q̓ʷᴀ́ʟ "pot," and -x̣ or -x̣̓ "inside," an apt term for the bay). The English name is evidently derived from the title of the chief of Tuqkʷa hɪt, a Decitan house. The bay is about 3 miles long (east-west) and one-half to three-fourths of a mile wide. Passage Island nearly blocks the outer end of Davis Creek, and Stone Island the entrance into Kanalku Bay. A chief of the Decitan Steel House used to live on Stone Island.

Dots and circles were recently painted on the island as aids to navigation, for at one time coal was mined on the south side of the bay. There are a number of camp sites belonging to Teq^{w}edi men on the north side of the bay, just inside the entrance. A woman who lived there as a child said that she used to get clay nearby for toy dishes. We were not able to visit the bay.

BABY POUCH

If we return to Angoon by the route described by one of our informants, we should come down the middle arm, a system of lagoons called the Baby Pouch, and enter the lower Inlet between Channel and Sullivan Points. Travel by this route is possible only at high water. The islands are reported as good hunting places for deer. The opening at the lower end of the Baby Pouch, which connects with the channel south of Channel Point Island, is called ẋuśiyE, which our informant translated as "Crabapple Tide." (However, ẋáẋ is "crabapple," and ẋúś is "club".) This same opening, or the narrowest part of it, is also called iyík, "Place inside the tidal current" (?).

CHANNEL POINT

This point, about three-quarters of a mile east of Angoon, is on the lower end of an island which divides the middle channel from Stillwater Anchorage. Daxatkanada lies off the upper end of the island. On the southernmost part of Channel Point there are still a few dilapidated smokehouses and cabins built by Decitan and Teq^{w}edi men, and remains of gardens can be traced from here through the bushes and woods to the top of the 60-foot-high headland which forms the north side of the point, a distance of about 175 yards. A middle-aged informant said that these gardens were under cultivation when he was a boy. However, a stump with some 70-odd rings stands in the middle of one plot and the trunk lies across the garden, which suggest that this part of the area was abandoned much longer ago. The point is called L'UK^w'–'ani, "Cohoe Salmon Village," because it was always possible to catch cohoes on each side of the point. In the woods near the headland there is a grave enclosed by a wooden fence made of banister-type railing. It is said to be the grave of an old blind Decitan man who was burned to death when two malicious women set fire to his cabin. The rocky headland was considered his tombstone. A pole with a United States flag is said to have been planted at the grave, but no trace of this now remains. Test pits made in various parts of the gardens revealed only scanty midden deposits, not over 12 inches in depth. We found no articles of native workmanship, although we were told that stone "axes" had been found near the south end of the point. There are a number of depressions, probably remains of root cellars, along the eastern edge of the gardens, in one of which were fragments of china. This site does not appear to be very promising archeologically.

SULLIVAN POINT

This point, about 1 mile southeast of Angoon, is on an island which forms the north shore of Favorite Bay, and the point marks the division between this bay and the middle arm of the Inlet. Here was the site of a village (cᴀtxíwᴜstɪn-’an or ceq‘ewᴜstc̓i-’an?), reportedly occupied by the Decitan after they moved from Turn Point and before they settled at Angoon. The name applies specifically to the westernmost part of the point. After the removal to Angoon, the name was changed to tak^{w}anicu, “Winter Village,” although this is felt to designate more particularly the southeastern section of the point. A settlement near here or a portion of the site belonged to the ’Anx̓akhɪtan and was called dax̓cu-’an, “Village close to the backside.” There are still a number of summer cabins and smokehouses along both sides of the point, belonging to men of different sibs, and some are still used by people from Angoon. Drinking water is obtained from a waterfall across the entrance to Favorite Bay, in a cove southeast of Garnes Point. At one time coal was mined at Sullivan Point. All of the flat behind the point was formerly cultivated, and we were told that a splitting adz had been found in a garden, on a layer of sand, under 3 feet of earth. Our test pits near the end of the point revealed rich black humus with shells, charcoal, and cracked rocks to depths of 19 to 26 inches. In one pit we found a stone saw (pl. 7, *q*), a fragment of slate blade, and a cut animal bone. This would appear to be a prehistoric site, though perhaps not a rich one.

About half a mile northeast of Sullivan Point, there is a small rocky knoll at the northernmost point of the island. A dilapidated warehouse is on the beach below, and on the knoll are two collapsed smokehouses and a square pit (remains of a root cellar?). This pit was dug to a depth of 4 feet through shelly midden, but the cultural deposit is of very limited extent, and the midden itself seems to represent rubbish thrown into a previous pit. Other indistinct depressions on the forested top of the knoll also suggest similar cellars. At one place a 12-inch midden was exposed in the cut bank overlooking the beach. Although we investigated this area, we found no artifacts. On the flat which extends from the knoll towards the south for about 300 or 400 yards, there are remains of old gardens, most of which are now overgrown with young trees. A test pit in the most open part was dug through a 30-inch midden, but no specimens were found. We did not learn the name of this place, but the narrow opening north of the point which leads into a shallow lagoon behind the island is called antéyùq̓. We were told that large cockles could be obtained from the lagoon, but were warned that if we went to get them we should keep a boat close to us and have one member of the party watching the tide. This lagoon opens into the upper part of Favorite Bay.

FAVORITE BAY

The English name for this bay is derived from that of a vessel of the Northwest Trading Company that operated the station on Killinsnoo Island in the 1880's. The native name is wᴀnk‘ᴀ g̣ᴇ́, "Edge-on Bay." The head of the bay, mostly mud flats, is almost 3¾ miles southeast of Angoon, and the entrance is a long narrow channel. An abandoned "Fishing Village," marked on the charts on the southwest shore, is xicwan-'ani, translated as "Fisherman's Town." The bay was formerly a famous locality for herring. It was apparently at this settlement that many of the natives were staying when Angoon was destroyed in 1882. It was not described to us as an old site, and exploration of the midden exposed in the banks of a small stream at the village revealed only modern cultural remains.

A Decitan man is buried on the little island off the north shore of Favorite Bay, near the upper entrance to the lagoon behind Sullivan Point Island, and another Decitan man has a cabin there (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 113).

GARNES POINT

Garnes Point is due west of Sullivan Point, and about 1 mile southwest of Angoon with which it is connected by road. Mr. Elmer Garnes and his wife, both white, have a house and garden here. The float for the Alaska Coastal Airways planes is in the cove below the point, and above the point is the anchorage used by the Angoon people for their motorboats. The point itself is called xanᴀx̣ayᴇ, and on it we found scanty traces of midden, apparently modern. There are a number of houses on the shores of the cove above Garnes Point. The cove is called k‘ᴀtš̓ᴀ́sak̓ʷ. We were told that there had once been a lineage house here, belonging to the Kagwantan sib. If this unverified statement were correct, it would mean that this Eagle sib was once an established part of the Angoon community. It was here, we were told, that the Indians held two white men prisoners, an incident which played an important part in the destruction of Angoon. There are no indications of an old site in the area. Children used to find clay here for toy dishes.

ANGOON

According to tradition, the site of Angoon was already occupied by the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi, a Raven sib, when the ancestors of the Decitan followed a beaver across the isthmus and so discovered this desirable place. The oldest part of Angoon is apparently at the southern end of the present town, facing Chatham Strait, and this includes the school grounds and the point just beyond (see fig. 17, p. 179). It was here that the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi had their houses; the newcomers, who must have included representatives of other sibs in addition to the Decitan, presumably settled farther north. Later, the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi moved away from Angoon, surrendering their rights to the Decitan.

The original Raven House of the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi may have been on the present school grounds. These were once a garden, but the area was leveled in 1929 when the school building and teacher's house were built, so that any archeological remains would have been destroyed. In 1938, when ditches were dug around the playground behind the school, a number of wooden rods were found at a depth of 4 feet. These were described by our informants as 2 (or 4 ?) feet long, curved, pointed at both ends, and apparently treated with oil. None of the natives was able to guess their function.

The G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi had a fort or fortified house on the rocky point just south of the school. This place is still called G̣anᴀx̣ca nuwu, "G̣anᴀx̣ Women's Fort." Excavation here is impossible because there are recent graves on the point and a house at its landward end. A midden which spills down the slope toward the school has a total depth of 38 inches. When exploring this, we found a piece of wood, wrapped around with a copper band on which was stamped a design suggestive of an eye. This was found at a depth of 24 inches, at the bottom of the uppermost layer of the midden. It was impossible to determine whether this was an object of purely aboriginal manufacture. We also found a crude maul head (pl. 4, *b*) at the edge of the garden on the point.

There are probably other areas within the town limits which were occupied at an early period, such as the narrow isthmus and the shores of the coves on each side. It is here that the present sib houses are concentrated, reportedly on or near the sites of earlier buildings with the same names (pls. 1 and 2). Any archeological remains here have been obliterated; nothing can be seen on the surface, and excavation is impossible. Some of the early houses along the west shore may well have been built in part on piles over the beach. Of these, or of the refuse from them, we could expect to find little or nothing. We did find a broken splitting adz on the west beach, however; and on one beach a local resident found an ivory buckle carved like a sea otter, which he said had been used for tightening the chin strap of a wooden hat.

In front of the sib houses on the west beach (pl. 1) can still be seen a canoe landing place, made by rolling aside some of the larger rocks to leave a clear lane up the beach. Here, near the high-tide line, there is a very large boulder, called simply the "stone," t‘ᴇ, or "boulder," x̣ɪʟ, or referred to as the "Anchor for Angoon." On this boulder slaves were killed at the old potlatches. Some faint carvings on the boulder represent faces, allegedly of slaves; other carvings are arabic numerals. These numbers are obviously the most recent carvings, while other designs are probably older, since they are too worn to be deciphered. Some are said to have been made by visiting Tsimshian Indians when a now elderly informant was a small boy, and these are probably intermediate in age. The rock is reported to have been shifted from its original position because teams of two or three men from rival sibs used to vie with each other in trying to push it around. The carvings are all but worn off because children are said to climb over the rock.

The ridge south of the isthmus has been cleared of timber, and while there is rich black humus on top, suggestive of former occupation, we found no identifiable cultural remains. Since there are a number of graves along the crest of the ridge facing Chatham Strait, we dared not undertake any extensive digging. Other modern graves are behind the houses on both sides of the walk across the isthmus, which again prevents digging in this area.

We were told that there used to be a fort at Danger Point, at the entrance to Kootznahoo Inlet. This was called x́ayᴇ́da nuwu, "Fort of the lower end of the point." There was another, called tc̓ak̓ nuwu, "Eagle's Fort," or tc̓ak̓nuk̓u, "Eagle's Small Fort," at Graveyard Point, about 900 yards northwest of Angoon, where the modern cemetery is located. We did not visit either site.

CHATHAM STRAIT BETWEEN ANGOON AND KILLISNOO

Kenasnow Rocks, which lie off Angoon, are called łɪtx́ádᴇ, a name which is said to refer to a small rock or island. (This is possibly łɪt x́at́ɪ, "–?– island-of "?) On the point directly opposite these rocks about one-half mile south of Angoon isthmus, there are several pictographs in red paint. Two of these paintings, about 10 feet above rocks about ½ mile south of Angoon isthmus, there are several pictographs in red paint. Two of these paintings, about 10 feet above the high-water mark, are clear enough to trace (fig. 7, *a*, *b*). The most distinct and probably the most recent picture represents a three-masted sailing ship. To the right of it is a mask or animal face, and there are traces of what appear to be similar faces to the left and above.

According to one tradition, these paintings were made by Tsimshians in human blood. The point is called "Magpie Point," tśegeni q̓ag̣o (probably tśegeni x̓ak̓u, "Magpie's Little Point"). We were not able to learn anything further about the pictographs because the point is associated with the recent drowning of a man who was said to have been warned by a soothsayer not to pass the point in his boat. Evidently there is felt to be something unlucky about the spot.

On the south side of the point just below this, there is a vertical crevice or chimney in the rock, in which a shaman was buried. This place is called yekk̓ hɪdi, "Small Spirit's House," or yek k'ᴀ hɪdi. When we visited the grave, we found that it had been rifled. Apparently the body had been laid on planks (or in a box), propped on rocks and timbers crammed in the cleft. The people still avoid this place and do not cut firewood or pick berries in the vicinity. An elderly man told us that one could talk to the spirit (ghost, shaman's familiar ?), and it would answer; then one must say "thank you."

We were told that south of the grave, somewhere in the bight between Kenasnow Rocks and Killisnoo Island, there is a summer cabin owned by an 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan man. Here, or just to the south, was a former camp called k'et'ɪntci yᴀdi, "Child of –?–" (see the name for Killisnoo Harbor Village). Teqʷedi from Hanus Bay in Peril Strait are supposed to have killed a family here in historic times.

White rocks on the point opposite Killisnoo Island are called tcaʟ x̓uxgo (probably tcaʟ x̣̓ox̣u, "Halibut Meat"). Raven is said to have cooked a halibut here and the rocks represent the remains of his meal. This place is also called yeł q̓ʷᴀʟi, "Raven's Cooking Pot."

KILLISNOO

A number of sites are reported in Killisnoo Harbor. It can be reached by a road from Angoon, about 3 miles north. Killisnoo was the settlement on the island of that name which grew up about the stations established by the Northwest Trading Company in 1878. It was all but destroyed by fire in 1928, after which the last families moved back to Angoon. The name "Killisnoo" is obviously the same as "Kenasnow," and was probably the native name for a fort. Before the war a number of Japanese men lived on the Admiralty Island shore of the harbor, which is also referred to by the natives as "Killisnoo," but these have all died or failed to return since their wartime internment, except Mr. Sumato who is married to a native woman. One elderly white man lived alone on the island in 1950. There were no other residents of the area.

At the Sumato home, midway between the north point of Killisnoo Harbor and the stream at the head of the bay, is the site of qadasax̓ʷ-ayɪk ("Sand Island, inside of ?"). There is a shell heap here, but excavation is impossible because the area is under intensive cultivation. The owners told us that they had found a barbed harpoon point, a pestle or maul, and a stone mortar in their gardens. A chart, published by Beardslee in 1882, shows the "Prov. [Prob.?] Site for Fort," and a trail across to the Inlet near Garnes Point.

The channel between the north point of the harbor and Killisnoo Island is called wucqałɪteʟ'sit, freely translated as "Getting so fat it's coming together" (probably: wuc "together", q'ᴜ "it", łɪ-t̓ᴇʟ' "to be greasy", sit' "channel"). This name was supposedly given by the crane who carried the shaman from Hood Bay to Kootznahoo Head (see p. 141), when it prophesied the establishment of the whaling station on Killisnoo Island.

The stream at the head of the harbor drains a salt lake or lagoon called k'ᴀtṡᴀ́sak̓^{w}, the same name as that given for the cove above Garnes Point in Kootznahoo Inlet.

On Admiralty Island, south of this stream, and almost due east of the station on Killisnoo Island, is an open beach about 600 yards long, as measured on a straight line between the reefs that bound it. The southeastern end of this beach is of sand, and here is reported to have been the village of ketɪntċián (possibly: k'ét'intci-'an, "Village where it continually lifts up"). The natives, who were unable to translate the name, said that it referred to the pounding surf, which prevented the people from sleeping, so that they eventually moved to Kootznahoo Inlet and Angoon. Representatives of several sibs lived here or in the vicinity; the Decitan, Teq^{w}edi, Wᴜckitan, and Dᴀqł'awedi were specifically mentioned. A middle-aged woman said that her grandfather had told her that the last inhabitants of the village died of sickness, and that since there was no one left to burn the bodies, they were simply left in the houses. This was probably in the smallpox epidemic of 1836–39. One of the Angoon men who have cabins and gardens here is said to have found human bones at a depth of 4 feet, which suggests that they were in an abandoned house pit. The ridges of formerly extensive gardens can be seen along the whole beach; it is probably here that were raised the potatoes for which Killisnoo was famous in the last century and which were traded by the natives to other tribes. At the end of the gravel north of the sand beach is a fine stream of clear water, and there is supposed to have been another stream between the gravel and the sand beach. We visited the place, and sank test pits at various spots in the gardens along the cove, but found only scanty traces of midden. We probably failed to discover the best area for excavation. A small rectangular slate pebble with notched edge, obviously water-worn, was found just under the surface of the gravel floor of an abandoned shack. It may have been an amulet.

The rocky point south of the site, "Potato Point," was once a fort, dasᴀkt̓ak nuwu or sakqᴀdatśayɪ nu, and another settlement in the vicinity was called dasuq̓tag̣-'an or sᴀkqadatśayɪ-'an. Although we were unable to check the locations of these places their names suggest a position behind Sand Island, which is called dasaxᴜqʷ, dasᴀxᴜkʷ, or tasinux. There were supposed to have been storehouses for potatoes on this island, but it was probably never inhabited. The smaller of the two Table Islands, north of Sand Island, may have been a fort, for it is called tśᴀxʷeł nuk̓u, "Crow's Little Fort."

HOOD BAY

Hood Bay is the first bay south of Killisnoo Island. All informants agreed that the South Arm belonged to the Dᴀqł'awedi, but Goldschmidt and Haas (1946, p. 115) assign the North Arm to the Decitan. One Dᴀqł'awedi man, however, explained to us that the North Arm had originally been Decitan, but that it was given to the Dᴀqł'awedi by a Decitan chief at the funeral potlatch for the latter's son, a Dᴀqł'awedi boy, who had been killed by a bear at the salmon stream, x̣́áyà, at the head of North Arm. This story was not confirmed by other informants, and the details are certainly confused, for a man could never give a potlatch for his own son, although he might surrender property to his son's sib at a "Peace Ceremony" if he were held responsible for his son's death. Just southwest of the mouth of this stream is said to have been an old settlement or camp. Apparently the name for the stream is applied to all of the North Arm.

Hood Bay Cannery, which was purchased by the Angoon Community Association, is on the north shore of the bay, just inside the entrance to North Arm. On the small point just above it was the site of a former village called tᴀntcusx̣ex̣ or tandjusxiq, which was roughly translated as "Where the people can't sleep because the jumping fish make so much noise." People were living here when a now middle-aged man was a boy. No trace of the settlement could be found in 1949 when we visited the cannery, but in 1950 when land was being cleared to build more cabins for the cannery workers, some stone objects (mortars ?) were found here. If the people ever move from Angoon to Hood Bay, as many advocate, there will be extensive building in this area, and additional artifacts may be found.

There are a number of dilapidated buildings along the north shore of Hood Bay between the cannery and Cabin Point to the west. On the point are cabins belonging to a deceased white man and to a former Dᴀqł'awedi chief. Still farther down toward the mouth of the bay, the natives used to obtain marble at a place called nix̣́kago (probably: nex̣́k'ᴀx̣́a), "White Rock Point." This is on the north shore, opposite House Point. The rock was used to make dolls, and also for polishing carvings in wood and bone, according to our informant.

The South Arm of Hood Bay is called tsáqʷᴀ̀, as is the salmon stream which enters its southern shore near the head. A former Dᴀqł’awedi camp was reported at the rocky point just west of the stream. A former chief of that sib had a cabin here, but it was burned after his death in 1948 by careless white campers. The fishing camp is associated with the Hood Bay shaman (see p. 140) for it was here that he first obtained his power. There was a logging camp here in 1949, which caused distress to the Angoon people, because they felt that it was cutting timber which belonged to them.

The group that formerly lived in Hood Bay were called the Tsagʷedi, but whether they were simply a branch of the Dᴀqł’awedi (Garfield, 1947, p. 447) or the original inhabitants, is not clear. In any case, they, or a group descended from them, moved to Saginaw Bay in Kake territory, where they now live, and they no longer have any claim to Hood Bay.

From Hood Bay Cannery a high mountain, evidently a volcanic neck, is visible above the end of South Arm. It is called "Box Mountain" from its shape. Like many peaks in the Angoon area, this is supposed to be one of the mountains where people took refuge during the Flood. The natives told us that there is a rope coiled up around the top of the peak, by means of which the people moored their raft or canoe, and that it is now so old that if touched it turns to ashes. One of the white men at the cannery reported that there is supposed to be a pool of water on top of the mountain that will rejuvenate gray hair because it is hair oil that was lost by an old woman who climbed the mountain. (Gray hair is a theme much discussed by the natives, who lament that people now turn gray because they don't take care of themselves at puberty, as the old people did whose hair never turned gray.) The same mountain is visible from Mole Harbor on the east coast of Admiralty Island. Mr. Hasselborg, who lived at Mole Harbor, told us that the Taku Indians of that area believed that if you "put your finger on" (point at) the mountain, it would rain immediately, even though the sky were clear. What may be the same mountain was called by an Angoon informant as "Hood Bay Old Woman," tsaqʷᴀ canᴜkʷ‘, because an old woman turned to stone on top of it during the Flood. She was a Dᴀqł’awedi woman, and that is why that sib owns Hood Bay. If you point a finger at her, our informant added, she gets mad and makes it rain.

Petroglyphs were reported in Hood Bay, but the localities were not specified and we did not see any.

HOOD BAY FORT

The only archeological site of interest in Hood Bay was at first not mentioned by the natives. This is on a small rocky promentory on the south side of the bay, opposite Cabin Point. We discovered it from the motorboat, because the former clearing on top, now overgrown with bushes, is visible from the water. Later we learned that it was called k̓úxʷ nuwu, "Marten's Fort." It is said to have been built by the Dᴀqł'awedi when they first came to Hood Bay. Our examination indicated that the site would probably repay excavation. The old trail to the top evidently started from the beach on the west side of the point. Here, just above the beach, we found some 30 inches of midden, consisting of humus, shells, and fire-cracked rocks. In the deepest layers were a piece of worked stone, the butt end of a bone tool or arrowhead, and a barbed harpoon head. The trail passes a rock shelter about halfway up the slope, under which is a midden about 24 inches deep. At the summit, where we made test pits in three places, the midden is 30 to 36 inches deep, and consists of layers of humus, charcoal, clam and mussel shells, interspersed with fire-cracked rocks. A large barbed harpoon head (pl. 8, *k*) and a red shale labret (pl. 10, *aa*) were found at depths of 18 and 30 inches. There are numerous ledges along the cliffs, some of which we explored in the vain hope of finding burials. The site seems well suited for defense, except that we could see no source of fresh water in the vicinity.

CHAIK BAY

This area is claimed by the Decitan, and is said to have been occupied by their ancestors before they came to Angoon (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 115; Garfield, 1947, p. 439). Some elderly people now living at Angoon were born and brought up at the former village which was located on the north side of the bay, just inside Village Point (fig. 3). At that time there were houses here belonging to both Decitan and Dᴀqł'awedi men. A Dᴀqł'awedi man even told me that his people claimed the bay, but this can only mean that they had some rights in the area. At present there are only a series of abandoned cabins and smokehouses between Village Point and a cove about 1¼ miles to the east, evidently the remains of a summer settlement. The most interesting part of the area is a rocky point called tćᴀqianu, "Eagle-?-Fort," (cf. tćàk̓ "eagle"), about 500 yards east of Village Point. Here we were told that the natćᴜnedi (probably the Wᴀśhinedi) of Kake made war on the local inhabitants. Near the end of the promontory we found a midden about 20 feet wide and 18 inches deep. Although we found no specimens here, we picked

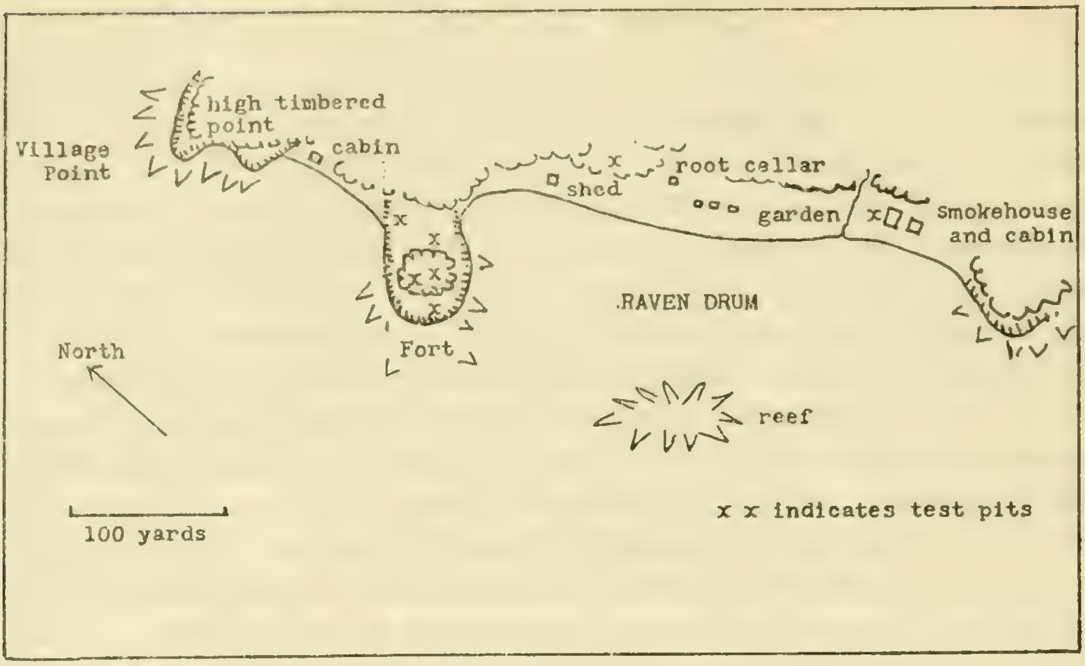

Figure 3.—Site in Chaik Bay.

up a barbed harpoon head on the beach below, which had evidently fallen from the midden above. On the beach between the fort and Village Point is a cabin, in the floor of which a deep pit (cellar, sweat bath?) had been dug through about 20 inches of midden deposit. Test pits outside the house encountered only scanty and superficial evidence of former occupation. A Decitan man is said to have been buried north of Village Point (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 115).

On the flat east of the fort was the site of the former village called yeł gawu, "Raven's Drum," or yeł gawku, "Raven's Little Drum." Here there are a number of cabins, smokehouses, root cellars, and remains of old gardens, scattered along the shore of the cove for a distance of about 500 yards. Part of the gardens are grown over by young spruce. About 30 feet back in the larger timber behind the clearing, a fallen tree, about 2 feet in diameter, had exposed traces of midden. This consisted of an 18-inch deposit of gravel, containing a few shells and fire-cracked rocks, which rested on beach sand. This is perhaps the oldest part of the site, but does not seem to be important. Below the gravel floor of a smokehouse at the eastern end of the flat we found some animal bones and a few shells at a depth of 2 feet, but the gravelly soil outside was almost sterile.

In the next cove to the east there was a camp used by the ’Anx̣̓akhıtan from Whitewater Bay for smoking fish. At present there are four houses standing on both sides of a small stream. Test pits west of the brook uncovered only animal bones, fire-cracked rocks, and tin cans under the turf. A hole in the smokehouse east of the stream had been sunk through 2 feet of shelly midden, but our test pits outside the house failed to uncover a midden, The situation here is thus like that at the cabin north of the fort. Evidently these recent buildings were built on small middens (accumulations in abandoned houses or caches ?), perhaps because it was easier to dig pits or cellars through the shells than through the gravel of the flats.

Still farther east, in the next cove, are two shacks marking the site of tci̦ane, a settlement where the Dᴀqł'awedi chief, ʟiak‘ít‘, "Far-away Killer Whale," had his house. Later the Decitan had a summer camp here. The name of the settlement may, more correctly, be cɪ-x̣anɪ, "Where it fell down," referring to the wooden figure of a killer whale on the roof of the house which was blown down by the wind (see p. 138). We did not have time to explore this area.

Near the salmon stream at the head of the bay was a camp, tcayík, from which the English name of the bay is derived. Here there are said to be still visible a series of sharp stakes set across the mud flats at the mouth of the stream on which salmon attempting to ascend the stream would become impaled.

A mountain south of Chaik Bay (elevation 3,400 feet as marked on the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Chart No. 8252) is called canaq̇ᴀ́tś. This was also a Flood refuge mountain, and there is a rope at the summit, now reduced to ashes, according to the informant who claims to have seen it.

Petroglyphs were also reported in Chaik Bay, but we did not see any and were unable to learn their location.

WHITEWATER BAY

This bay was claimed by the 'Anx̣akhıtan, whose ancestors settled here before Angoon was founded (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 116; Garfield, 1947, pp. 441 f.). The site of the village, nᴇʟducgᴀɴ, "Neltushkin," is on a cove just inside the north point of the bay, and was inhabited when some of the now elderly people of Angoon were children. According to several of our informants, the original "Middle of the Village House," from which the 'Anx̣akhıtan derive their name, was built here, as was also "Log Jam House" of the same sib. A former resident of the village mentioned a "Bear House" of the Teq^{w}edi, as well as smaller unnamed houses. If the story of the origin of the 'Anx̣akhıtan is to be believed (pp. 135 f.), then "Steel House" of the Decitan must also have been here at one time, since the original "Middle of the Village House" was built beside it. Garfield's informants, however, laid the scene of this story in Angoon, although they reported that tił' hini, "Dog Salmon

Stream," at the head of Whitewater Bay, was the exclusive property of the 'Anx̣akhıtan. This statement suggests that other sibs enjoyed rights in the area.

The former village is still marked by a few dilapidated houses, overgrown garden patches, and cache pits, and by what appear to be the pits of older houses (fig. 4). The site is on a narrow flat, less than 500 yards long, with a steep hillside behind, which would have forced a concentration of occupation within a relatively small area. There is an excellent stream of water near the northwest end of the cove. On the rocky point beyond the stream are painted a red circle (or semicircle) with a dot in the center, and a red comma-shaped figure (fish?) (see fig. 7, *c*).

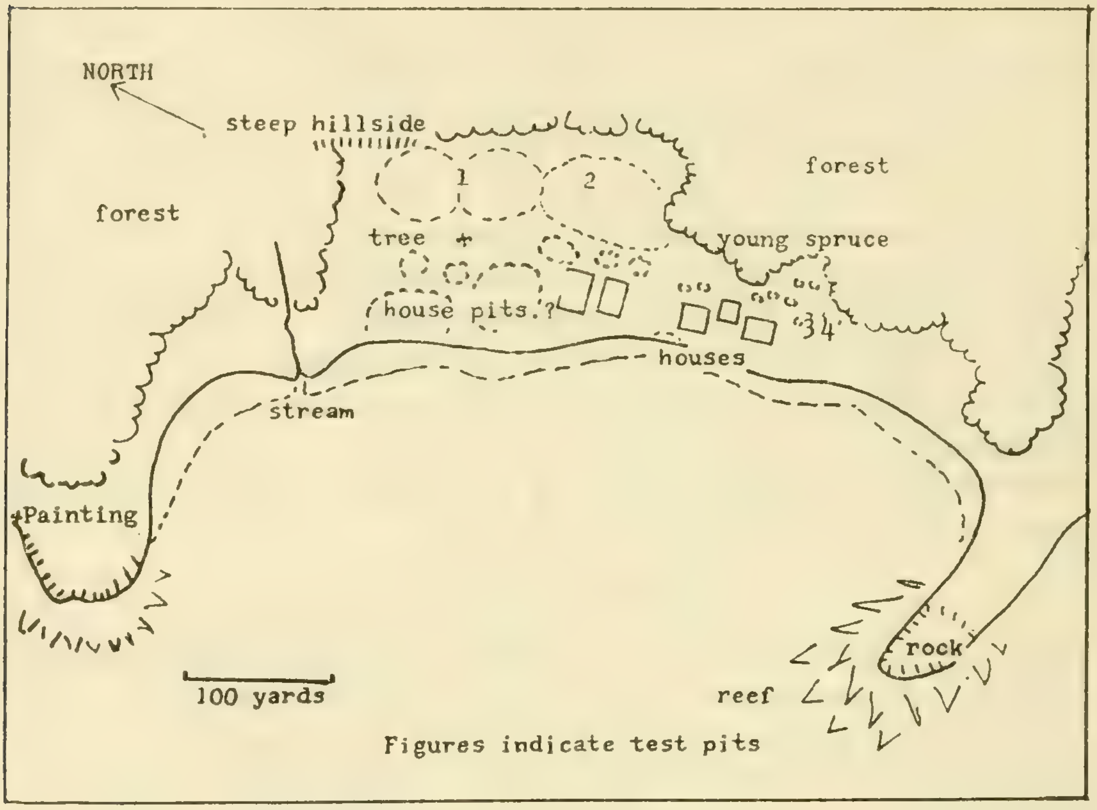

FIGURE 4.—Site of Neltushkin, Whitewater Bay.

We dug two test pits in the old garden plots near the western end of the site. In the first, the top 18 to 20 inches consisted of humus, gravel, fire-cracked rocks, etc. Below this was a layer of crushed shells, 6 to 10 inches thick, which rested on a hearthy deposit, the total depth of the midden being 34 inches. The second hole revealed 75 inches of alternating layers of shelly midden and thin lenses of beach sand. The upper 30 inches here seemed to correspond to the top 10 inches in the first pit. Interruptions of the strata indicated that a hole had once been dug from the 26- to the 48-inch level, and had subsequently been filled with more midden debris. The total depth of the deposit here suggests that it had accumulated in the pit of an old house; perhaps several other house pits were later dug at the same spot.

We also sank holes in the bottoms of two modern cache pits near the eastern end of the site. The original bottoms of these caches were 64 to 68 inches below the present surface of the ground, and the cache pits had been dug through middens that extended to depths of 40 to 72 inches. These older deposits consisted of thin layers of shell, separated by thicker layers of sand. The cache pits themselves contained boulders, rotted wood, tin cans, fragments of iron, a faceted blue glass bead, and a broken cannonball.

One has the impression that occupation of the site had been intermittent, allowing for the accumulation of the sterile sand layers over the successive strata of refuse. The sand may have been washed down from the hillside, washed up by the sea, or possibly, in some cases, have been brought by the people as clean coverings for the floors of their houses. Only extensive trenching across the entire flat could determine the origin of the sand layers and the relationships between the various strata of the deposits. It is to be regretted that we found no objects of native manufacture here, for the site appears to be the oldest in the area, and is one that should be excavated.

There are said to be smokehouses at or near the head of the bay, but we did not try to explore this area. A Decitan man told us of salmon-impaling stakes (probably across the mouth of the stream at the head of the bay), which are supposed to be quite old. He said that as a boy he pulled one up out of curiosity, but was warned by his elders not to "fool around with them," because it would bring bad luck. He also said that Table Mountain, a 2,400-foot peak south of the bay, was another refuge place during the Flood. There are ropes of ashes on top, which he has touched, and piles of stone, which are the remains of walls to keep out the bears that attacked those who took refuge on the summit. On both occasions when he had "fooled around" on top of the mountain, it rained, and the old people knew that he had been naughty.

"Head Island," q‘acᴀyɪ x̣ak̓ʷ (this form of the name suggests a little point behind the island), is apparently the North Island of the charts. It has or had "faces on all the rocks." The mother of an 'Anx̣akhɪtan woman of Angoon used to live there and told her daughter about the pictures, but the latter was unable to find them. They were probably petroglyphs, for another informant mentioned some in Whitewater Bay. Again, we were unable to ascertain the exact location and did not see any.

CLIFF WITH PAINTINGS

About 4 miles south of Whitewater Bay and about one-fourth of a mile north of Eagle Island is a very conspicuous cliff, on which have been painted three red figures, covering a vertical distance of about 10 feet, (fig. 7, *d*). They are so high above the nearest ledge that scaffolding must have been used to make them. One informant told us that they were made by a Tsimshian war party and were supposed to represent a canoe with paddlers. We saw nothing of that sort, however. The pictures consist of a 5-foot X (above), a circle with four rays almost as big, and (below) a wide horizontal stripe. There were no other paintings in the vicinity. In 1950, informants who saw the photographs of these pictures, taken in 1949, identified the place as tśakqeʟ̓ᴇ, but told different stories about it. According to one man, people from Wrangell (L'ɪnedi, or Yenyedi, or some other group) were going south (toward home). They got to Gut Bay on Baranof Island and then came across Chatham Strait on a raft, landing here below Whitewater Bay. They had a shaman with them who used "mental telepathy" to communicate with another "doctor" at Hood Bay. The latter announced that there were people who needed food and tobacco and blankets. The young fellows did not believe him, but they went out in their canoes and found those people. The Wrangell natives put the pictures on the cliff in memory of this event. The paint was made of blood mixed with some kind of root. Another informant said that a Decitan shaman and another man had escaped from enemies at Sitka. They came to the beach, built a raft, and finally crossed Chatham Strait. The shaman sent a message to a shaman "over here" (Angoon?). The latter said that someone was calling for help and sent a canoe to rescue the two men, although the people were skeptical. This story evidently refers to the same incident.

Somewhere in the vicinity is the source of the clay that the natives in 1890 used to dig up and burn to make red paint. This is obviously the type of paint used for pictographs. The material when dug out is said to have been a reddish-brown clay or claystone.

WILSON COVE

This shallow bay south of Whitewater Bay was also claimed by the 'Anx̣̓akhıtan, who are said to have discovered it after they had settled at Whitewater Bay (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 116; Garfield, 1947, p. 442). There was no village here, only a camp near the creek on the north shore of the bay with smokehouses for drying salmon. The natives also made herring grease here. Wilson Cove is called kᴀtᴀq^{w}, and the people who used to frequent it were called

Kᴀtᴀqʷedi, but they have all died off, and there is said to be only a clearing at the summer camp site. We did not visit Wilson Cove.

SOUTH END OF ADMIRALTY ISLAND

TYEE

Quartz for fire-striking sets is said to have been formerly obtained from Point Gardner, the southernmost point of Admiralty Island, southeast of Tyee. Tyee is now only a cannery in Murder Cove. The latter name refers to the killing of two white men by natives, which resulted in the destruction of the Kake villages in 1869. One of our informants denied that there had ever been an old settlement at Tyee, unless it had been used by the Kake Indians. Goldschmidt and Haas (1946, p. 116) reported a former 'Anx̣akhıtan campsite where the cannery is now located, giving it the name q́atckahin, and located another camp in Surprise Harbor to the west. Garfield also records the 'Anx̣akhıtan claim to Tyee, q́utcx̣ahín, "the stream across from q́utcx̣ (Security Harbor)." This designation suggests occupation or use by the Kake, who live on Security Bay on the south side of Frederick Sound. Garfield's informants reported that the common ancestors of the Decitan and 'Anx̣akhıtan are supposed to have stayed for a time at Tyee, where they absorbed the Gɪcqʷedi, "Kelp People," the original inhabitants, before they moved to Chaik Bay and Angoon (Garfield, 1947, pp. 438, 442). We explored the area around the cannery but found no signs of an earlier occupation, but the reported camps or settlements may have been in some other part of the bay.

HERRING AND CHAPIN BAYS

Herring Bay has apparently been frequented in recent years by the people of Angoon, for Goldschmidt and Haas record claims to it by both the 'Anx̣akhıtan and the Dᴀqł'awedi (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, pp. 116 ff.). It is called takawux̣ or takuwux̣. Chapin Bay, qatc, was used by both Angoon and Kake people.

ELIZA HARBOR

Garfield reports the tradition that Eliza Harbor was the first home on Admiralty Island of the ancestors of the Decitan and 'An ̣akhıtan and of the ancestors of the Dᴀqł'awedi. It is called gᴀnax̣ or gᴀnex̣ (Garfield: gu.nx̣, "Still Water") (Garfield, 1947, pp. 438, 447). One of our informants said that it had originally been owned by the Tsagʷedi (see Hood Bay), but was given to the Dᴀqł'awedi when the Tsagʷedi moved to Saginaw Bay. In any case, it is now considered as Dᴀqł'awedi territory (cf. Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 117). The original settlement of this sib was described as having been at Loon Point or at Deepwater Point, x̣ak‘ᴀ-’an, “Town on the point.” They also had a camp on Liesnoi Island, called tix̣at̓ᴇ. We explored the area on the island which had been indicated as the site of the camp, and also inspected from the motorboat the shores between Loon and Deepwater Points, but were unable to land at the latter. However, none of these places seemed suitable for habitation, and we were unable to confirm the tradition.

PYBUS BAY

This was said to have been the home of little dwarfs, called ts̓inx̓ᴇ, who were helpful to men although they would never show their faces. Although tiny, they had such heavy bodies that no one could lift them. Pybus Bay belonged to the people of Kake, not to Angoon. The sib that lived here were the Wᴀs̓hinedi, and the local branch were called da’utuwax̣̓ɪqʷan, “People of the built-up shelter,” because their village was fortified, not by a palisade (nu), but by a wall of horizontally laid logs. This was felt by our Angoon informants to be only a temporary makeshift, although I suspect it to have been the ordinary type of fort used by the Kake people. In pre-Russian times this group became involved in a war or feud, but we did not learn the story.

CHICHAGOF ISLAND

Goldschmidt and Haas are probably in error when they report that False Bay, Freshwater Bay, and Tenakee Inlet on the east shore of Chichagof Island were originally claimed by the Angoon people but that they were later taken over by the Wᴜckitan, probably from Auke Village near Juneau (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 112). Rather, our informants said that this territory belonged to an independent division of the Wᴜckitan, the Freshwater Bay branch, and that it was the latter who inherited rights at Angoon when the Kootznahoo branch of this sib became extinct.

FRESHWATER BAY

There seems to have been a former village 1 mile east of the sockeye stream in Freshwater Bay. When a now elderly man was a small boy there were two Wᴜckitan lineage houses here, and he believes that the foundations are still visible. Freshwater Bay is called asáng̣ᴇ or asánk̓e.

TENAKEE INLET

The Decitan apparently at one time owned Tenakee Inlet, but ceded it to the Wᴜckitan in settlement of a murder (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 117). This story is probably implied in the remarks of one of our informants who reported that pictures on the rocks near the settlement of Tenakee marked the scene of a battle where the Wᴜckitan were attacked. Those defeated (not specified) were decapitated, and their blood ran down over the rocks. Tenakee is called t̓enag̣ᴇ, translated as "Bay on the other side."

At the head of the bay there is a very narrow neck of land dividing the bay from the head of Port Frederick on the north shore of Chichagof Island. The latter is in the territory of the Hoonah tribe. Beardslee reports that there was a portage here, 150 steps long and only 15 feet high at high water (Beardslee, 1882, p. 92). Swanton cites the tradition that a canal had been planned to enable boats to reach Hoonah more easily:

> On their way to us the first killer whales came into a bay called Kots!ē′ʟ!, after Ts!ēʟ!, the first man who came to that bay. They encamped at its head and the day after began digging into the cliff. The land there is not very high, so they were soon through, laid skids down, and carried their canoes across. Some people watched them. The killer whales always used to cross at the place where they laid down these skids, and now people cross there. It is called Killer whale crossing place (Kītgūnî), but is now overgrown with trees and underbrush. [Swanton, 1909, p. 27.]

A 4,000-foot mountain south of Tenakee is visible from the extreme southern end of Angoon. It is called cáqʷʟà, and is another peak on which people are supposed to have taken refuge during the Flood. It is said to have been formerly bigger, but a few years ago a piece fell off. It is used by the Angoon people to predict the weather, for a little cloud that usually clings to the summit shows the direction of the wind in Chatham Strait, often before the wind is felt at Angoon. If some one at Tenakee points at the mountain, this will bring rain.

BASKET BAY

This little bay belongs to the branch of the Decitan known as the Qᴀkʷ‘edi, who built their original "Basket (q̓ᴀkʷ‘) or Arch House" there. This place is now deserted, although a house and a couple of smokehouses were still occupied in 1902 (Garfield, 1947, p. 440). This is a spot that has captured the imaginations of the natives. We were given a number of descriptions of it but unfortunately did not obtain the most detailed accounts until after our visit, so that we missed some of the most interesting localities reported (fig. 5).

The large salmon stream that drains Kook Lake (probably k‘úqʷ‘, "hole") enters the southwest corner of the head of the bay, after passing under a natural arch from which the bay derives its native name. Although we did not go above the arch, we were told that there is a deep hole some 500 yards farther upstream, on the north bank. At low tide people used to climb down into it by means of a notched ladder, carrying pitchy torches for light. There were seals

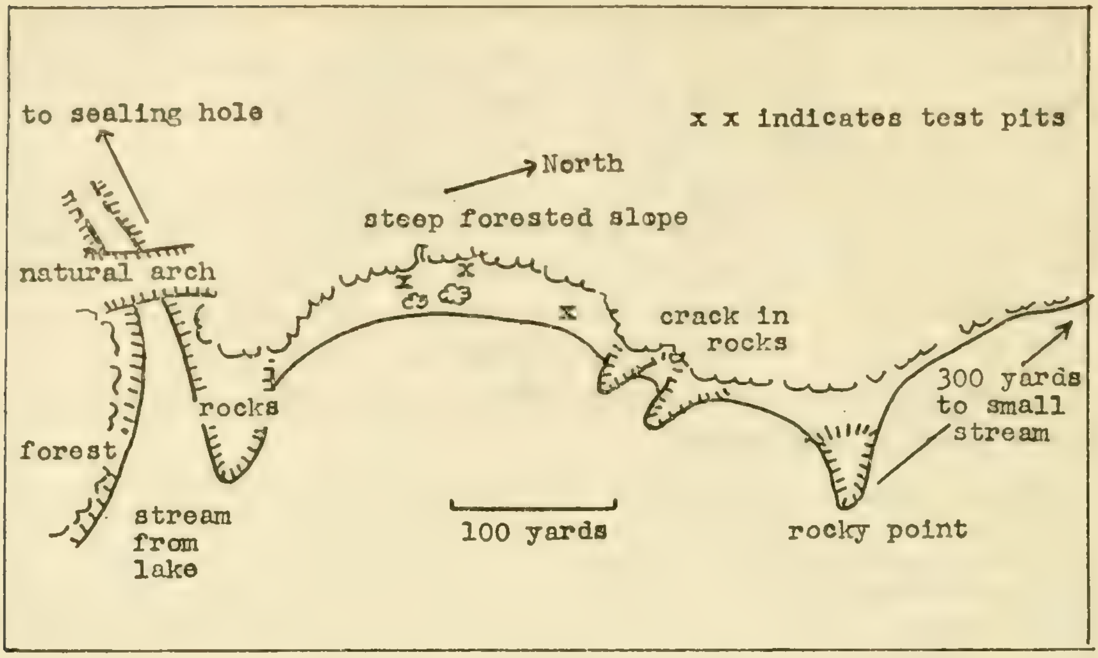

Figure 5.—Site at Basket Bay.

and salmon in the hole which could be killed with clubs. The people used to fasten inflated seal stomachs to the catch and let them float out down the stream to be retrieved at the village at its mouth. This hole was a very dangerous place because it was flooded so rapidly by the incoming tide. Therefore, a man was stationed on the beach to watch the tide. As soon as it turned, he would call: "Tide's coming in!" A man sitting on a house top would repeat the call, a man on top of the arch would relay it, and finally a man at the top of the hole would put his mouth close to the ground and shout: "Tide is coming in!" Then everyone inside would drop everything and climb out fast, before the tide rushed into the hole.

The original village at the mouth of the stream is supposed to have been destroyed by a pet beaver that became angry at his owner, the chief, and therefore turned the whole place upside down (see p. 137). The numerous pits and cracks in the rocks at the head of the bay are supposed to be connected in some way with the destruction of the village. Our friends warned us against falling into these.

We explored the flat at the head of the bay, just north of the stream. While there is room here for a small settlement between the beach and the steep hillside, our test pits uncovered nothing more than a few animal bones and shells in the gravel to a depth of 8 inches in one spot, and signs of a recent camp with glass and china at another. In a crack in the cliff at the north end of the beach is a little pile of mussel shells, washed up by the sea, that has the appearance of a midden. Since the head of the bay is well sheltered from storms, it is unlikely that these shells were torn from mussel beds. They may possibly be all that is left of the refuse thrown out by early inhabitants onto the beach. Or, there may once have been a midden on the flat, now washed away by the sea, of which these shells are the only trace. While we could discover no evidence of a relative subsidence of the land, this may have occurred, and the legend of the destruction of the village may have some foundation.

We visited the arch or natural bridge over the stream, but not knowing that there was the hole above it, failed to find the latter. We also explored the shore toward the smaller stream which enters the northwest corner of the bay, but found no other suitable place for a settlement. This stream is called tcᴀś hini, "Humpbacked Salmon's Stream."

PENINSULA POINT

This point, which is almost directly west of Angoon, is called łaqłi̩a. The bay north of it is called nᴀndᴇ-qatana-łaqłix̣a-g̣ᴇ́yᴀ̀k̓ʷ, meaning "northward—?—the point-small bay." The bay to the south is called ʼɪxdᴇ-, etc. We were told that there is a cave on the east side of South Bay, visible from the water, in which a shaman is entombed. The body is said to be seated in a tall wooden box, with devilclubs in the folded arms, and the long hair is twisted up like the arms of a devilfish on top of the head and held in place with two long carved bone pins. The fingernails have grown so long after death that they have curved over to penetrate the palms. This is apparently the traditional description of a dead shaman, for our informant admitted that he had never visited the cave, having been warned by his uncle to avoid it. The shaman died so long ago that no one knows who he was. We were taken on a cruise into the bay, but were not able to land. A number of overhanging places in the cliffs are visible from the water, but we could not tell whether any of these was the cave in question.

POINT HAYES

Several forts were reported at or near Point Hayes. Two were said to be on two islands off the point, both of which are surrounded by extensive reefs. The eastern and larger island was called tśᴀxʷeł nuwu, "Crow's Fort," and was said to have belonged to the Wᴜckitan, but no further information about it was obtained. As far as we could tell from the boat in passing, the island is not very steep and is well wooded, so that it does not look like a defensible place or even like one that had been occupied. An open flat on the northwest point of the island, facing Point Hayes, may perhaps have been a camping place.

The western and smaller island off Point Hayes is called x̓uś nuwu, again translated as "Crabapple Fort" (see the channel at the lower end of the Baby Pounch in Kootznahoo Inlet, p. 44). This fort belonged to the Decitan, who "took a lot of punishment here." The island appears promising as a site. It is precipitous, apparently scalable only from the eastern side. The top, which is divided into several knolls, has some spruce and also a number of berry patches which suggest old clearings.

Another informant mentioned a Decitan fort, tcaʟkʻᴀ nu, "Halibut Place Fort," or "Fort on the Halibut," which was "right inside Morris Reef," that is, on one of the two islands or on Point Hayes itself. This fort was raided by the Kɪksᴀdi from Sitka long ago, before Angoon was founded.

We were able to land only on the eastern side of Point Hayes, north of the eastern island, at a flat with a small stream. The bank, about 3 feet high, has been cut by wave action. As exposed, it consists of round beach pebbles and a little dark humus, in the upper few inches of which are traces of charcoal. An Indian with us said that this was the site of a modern trolling camp. We were unable to explore the land back of the beach, but there was nothing here to suggest an old or any extensive site.

At the end of Point Hayes, just opposite the smaller western island, and also just west of the point inside Sitkoh Bay, there are areas with young spruce which may be sites. We saw these from the boat but were unable to land.

POINT CRAVEN

One informant believed that there had once been a village at or near Point Craven, west of the mouth of Sitkoh Bay, but from the boat we could see nothing to suggest a site.

SITKOH BAY

Sitkoh Bay, which opens from Peril Strait on the south shore of Chichagof Island, was once claimed by the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi but was surrendered by them when they left Angoon and now belongs to the Decitan (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 118; Garfield, 1947, p. 441). Traditions concerning the area should be obtained from members of the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi sib, since the Angoon Decitan do not profess much local knowledge. Although we met a G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi man who claimed Sitkoh Bay as the original home of his family, he was unwilling to tell us much.

The bay is still an important area for the Angoon people, since a number of them work and fish for the New England Fish Company cannery at Chatham, halfway up the southwest side of the bay, and some also buy their winter supplies from the cannery store when prices are reduced at the end of the fishing season. The cannery is about 4 miles above Point Craven. The cabins for the native workers are scattered between the cannery and a stream about 600 yards still farther up the bay. Around and behind these shacks are extensive clearings, which we did not examine, nor did any of our informants mention a site at this place.

About three-fourths mile above the cannery is the site of the former G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi village, sɪťqo (possibly sɪťx̣o, "Among the Glaciers"). Our friends, the Reverend and Mrs. Cyrus Peck, took us to see the many petroglyphs at this site. The village was on a terraced knoll (fig. 6), just south of the mouth of Sitkoh River, a sockeye salmon stream which drains Sitkoh Lake some 4 miles inland. The knoll is about 120 yards long (NW–SE), about 60 yards wide, and about 70 feet high at the highest point. The stream in general runs east, but just before reaching the site, turns north to flow close under the inland side of the knoll, and then turns sharply east again to enter the bay. We were unable to cross the stream, even at low tide, but it does not look as if there were a site on the opposite bank.

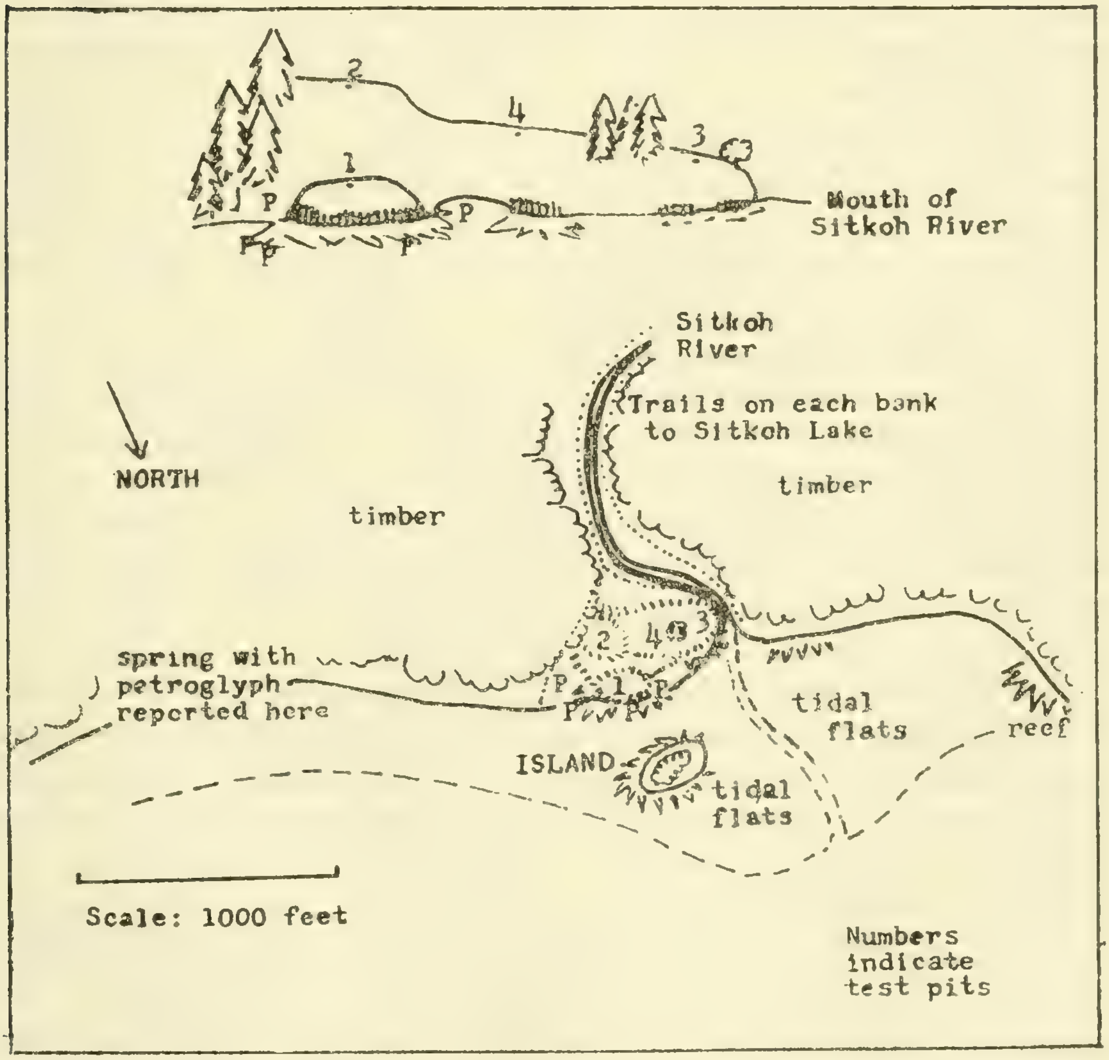
2
4
3
1
P
P
P
P
Mouth of Sitkoh River
Sitkoh River
Trails on each bank to Sitkoh Lake
NORTH
timber
timber
3
2
4
3
1
P
P
spring with petroglyph reported here
ISLAND
tidal flats
tidal flats
reef
Scale: 1000 feet
Numbers indicate test pits

Figure 6.—Site near Chatham Cannery, Sitkoh Bay.

The bedrock in this area is composed of limestone or marble, with some thin layers of dark shale or slate. The strata are tilted steeply with a NW–SE strike (i. e., parallel to the axis of Sitkoh Bay), and dip toward the northeast. At the base of the rocks which form the southeastern edge of the knoll are carved a number of petroglyphs, some on the dip slope of the bedrock, some on the joint planes, and a few on fallen slabs (see fig. 8; pl. 11). A native who was with us at the site reported that there used to be a spring which bubbled out of the rocks along the shore between the site and the stream near the cannery. Below the spring was a deep pool, and on the rocks above was carved a face. We all searched for this, and found only a few brooks, but no petroglyphs near them. This same man also reported that there had been additional carvings on the flat surfaces of the bedrock opposite the middle of the site, but believed that they were now covered with beach gravel. We shoveled a little of this from the rocks on the beach, but found no more pictures. Since our informant had not seen the carvings since 1904, his memory may well have been inaccurate.

Opposite the site is a small island, connected to the mainland at low tide. The same Indian commented on how the formerly deep channel between the village and the island had filled with silt since he had previously seen it. I believe that he is correct in part, but that a change in sea level is responsible, since there is evidence of a raised beach on the little island. The extensive tidal flats around the island and in the bight to the south and east are now covered with beds of mussels, but we saw no signs of clams, and no shells of any kind were found in our test pits at the site.

The village is now covered by an almost impenetrable tangle of salmonberry and thimbleberry bushes; there are also some elderberries, wild celery plants, and a few young spruce. We dug four test pits. The first was on top of the 40-foot-high knoll at the southeast end of the site, but this revealed only 10 inches of humus and gravel above the bedrock. The second, on the highest point of the ridge, near the southern end of the clearing, was dug through 4 to 6 inches of sterile humus. The third pit was near the northern end of the site, on the main ridge, here about 40 feet high. The spot was selected because it had a growth of nettles, often the sign of previous habitation. Here humus, some bits of charcoal, and gravel were found to a depth of 30 inches, resting on sterile gravel, but there was nothing else to encourage excavation.

The last pit was dug on the same ridge, about halfway between the highest knoll to the south and a clump of young spruce in the middle. The shelf is here about 55 feet high, is fairly level, and has a growth of nettles. A slight depression suggested that a house pit might have been located here. We excavated a hole about 3 by 2 feet to a depth of

4 feet without encountering any clearly defined bottom to the deposit. Here were the following layers:

Surface-18 inches: humus with some pebbles and a few fire-cracked rocks
18–19 inches: charcoal
19–22 inches: hard-packed, tan ashy layer (floor?)
22–26 inches: humus with some charcoal
26–28 inches: gray ashy silt (floor?)
28–33 inches: wet greasy earth with charcoal. At 29 inches was a badly rotted deer (?) bone, and at the same level a fragment of what appeared to be a human bone (about the size of the humerus), so badly compressed and decomposed as to be hardly more than a stain. Near this, at the same level, were the remains of a human skull, the consistency of wet cardboard, and a number of very much worn teeth, suggesting a senile individual. The layers above the skull (at least the tan ashy layer at 19–22 inches) appeared to be undisturbed. The human bones were not charred; it was not a cremation. We do not know whether this was an intentional burial, an abandoned corpse, or a slave sacrifice (under a house post?).
33–34 inches: gray earth
34–38 inches: dark earth with considerable amounts of charcoal
38–40 inches: gray earth
40–48 inches (bottom of test pit): grayish-black earth, with a bone fragment at 41 inches. The bottom of the cultural deposit was not reached.

I think it probable that the test hole was sunk in a former house pit, which would account for the depth of the deposit. The ashy layers appeared to be floor levels. There were no shells, and the soil was in consequence quite acid, which would account for the condition of the bones encountered. The inhabited area of the site seems to have been quite limited in extent; the village must have been small. The deeply stratified deposit suggested long occupation, but unfortunately we found no artifact, so it is difficult to say whether further excavation would be rewarding.

We also dug a test pit on the north end of the little island opposite the village site, but found only a thin layer of gravel and humus and a few scraps of shells which may have been dropped by gulls. The island is too low to have been a fort, and the steep slopes of the knoll at the village site could have been more easily defended.

PERIL STRAIT

Our information about sites in Peril Strait west and south of Sitkoh Bay is based upon hearsay, for we had no opportunity to explore them. Territory ascribed to people of Angoon seems to run as far west as Poison Cove, although Angoon hunters used to continue through the Narrows to hunt sea otter in Kalinin Bay in Salisbury Sound, the western enlargement of Peril Strait.

Peril Strait was claimed by the Teq^{w}edi (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, pp. 118 f.), but because of the close ties between the Angoon and Sitka branches of this sib, it is difficult to draw any definite line between the localities particularly claimed by the two divisions. Thus, Garfield reports that the Teqʷedi settlement, sometimes called Kuťixá.n, "Carved-Stone Town," at the foot of Mount Edgecumbe on the southern end of Kruzof Island, was frequented by sea mammal hunters from Peril Strait. The name of the town refers to the many petroglyphs of murrelets, bear tracks, etc., presumably all Teqʷedi totemic crests, on the nearby rocks (Garfield, 1947, p. 446). Probably most of the regular inhabitants were Sitka natives.

TODD

The main Teqʷedi town in Peril Strait was on the north shore, at the present site of Todd Cannery. It was called q‘àcÁ-t‘È-wahayìyÁ, "Where the rock fell on someone's head," alluding to the story of the man who rolled a boulder down the cliff to kill his wife's lover (Garfield, 1947, p. 445). The stream here is called "Battle Creek," dawúʟ’ɪ hini, because it was the scene of a fight between the supporters of the husband and the relatives of the murdered man (pp. 144 ff.). After the fight, the survivors separated, some going to Chilkat and others to Whitewater Bay and Kootznahoo Inlet, so that the town was deserted.

Although we were given to understand that Todd was the site of a pre-Russian village, it is possible that Lindenberg Head, about a mile east of the cannery, was actually the fortified settlement established by the Indians who fled from Sitka in 1804 when the Russians retook that place. Although one of the chiefs who lived at the new fort in Peril Strait was certainly a Kɪksᴀdi, others may have been Teqʷedi. We have been unable to identify the site of this fort (see pp. 147 f.). However, a chart based on surveys in 1879 and 1880 indicates a stockaded village at Todd or Lindenberg Head, although there is no information as to whether it was still inhabited at that time (Beardslee, 1882).

HANUS BAY

The Todd people had a fish camp, katsx̣́, on the outlet of Lake Eva, on the south side of Peril Strait. One middle-aged informant, the son of a Teqʷedi man, said that he was born at a fishing town on the peninsula at the east side of Hanus Bay, between Point Moses and the stream from Lake Eva. This settlement was "large," with a dozen houses, and may be the same place as the fish camp.

The Teqʷedi also had a fort on Dead Tree Island, the larger (?) of the two islands in Hanus Bay (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 119). There was once a canoe battle in the bay and native informants told us that human bones had recently been found in the shallow water east of the outlet of Lake Eva. In Russian times, Teqʷedi from the island in Hanus Bay are said to have killed a family living at a summer camp on the shore between Angoon and Killisnoo Harbor. It is not clear whether these two incidents are connected.

BARANOF ISLAND SOUTH OF PERIL STRAIT

Goldschmidt and Haas report that the Decitan claim Kelp Bay, and had a summer camp on Crow Island (Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 120). Garfield was told that the eastern shore of Baranof Island from Peril Strait to Nelson Bay was used by all the Angoon Raven sibs, and was not the exclusive territory of any sib or house (Garfield, 1947, pp. 442 f.) There was a large camp on Pond Island in Kelp Bay, especially frequented by people from Whitewater Bay. The 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan had a hunting camp in Nelson Bay which was destroyed by a snowslide that killed all the men in the party.

Redbluff Bay marked the southern limit of Angoon territory, for the area south of this was used by people from both Angoon and Kake.[12] The bay was called djig̣ᴜx̣. We were told that there was a fish camp here and also a place where greenstone for adzes could be obtained. Although an 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan man claimed Redbluff Bay for his sib, he admitted that anyone could obtain as much greenstone as he wished from the mountainside above it.

Hoggatt Bay, south of Redbluff Bay, was mentioned by one informant because her Wᴜckitan father made a stone salmon weir at the stream there. The stream is called wᴀtkasat'ᴇ, like Thayer Creek north of Angoon. The Wᴜckitan man also had a fish trap at Gut Bay, 2 miles farther south.

Gut Bay is of interest because here Raven left the print of his fishnet in the sloping rocks at the north side of the entrance. This place is called yeł g̣èwu, "Raven's Web, or Net." Our informant said that he had once taken some young men to the spot. They had always joked about it, not believing that there was anything there, but were convinced when they saw clearly the marks of the net pressed into the rocks.

SUMMARY OF SIB TERRITORIES

Territories or areas where the Angoon sibs had rights to fish, hunt, gather berries, or had built houses, may be summarized as follows:

Decitan (Raven):
- From Fisheries Point to Kootznahoo Head, Admiralty Island
- Lower part of Kootznahoo Inlet through Steamer Passage
- Killisnoo Harbor
- North Arm of Hood Bay (later given to Dᴀqł'awedi)
- Chaik Bay

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[12] Goldschmidt and Haas, 1946, p. 120. Emmons, in an unpublished manuscript, ascribed all of the coast to and including Patterson Bay to the Angoon people and reports that they also could hunt sea lions off the southernmost point of Baranof Island.

- Whitewater Bay ?
- Eliza Harbor (occupied by ancestors)
- Basket Bay, Chichagof Island (by Basket Bay lineage)
- Point Hayes fort
- Sitkoh Bay (received from Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi)

'Anx̣̓akhıtan (Raven):

- Sullivan Point, Kootznahoo Inlet
- Chaik Bay (summer campsite)
- Whitewater Bay
- Wilson Cove
- Tyee ? (by ancestors)
- Herring Bay
- Redbluff Bay, Baranof Island

All Ravens used Baranof Island from Peril Strait to Nelson Bay.

Wᴜckitan (Eagle-Wolf):

- Point Marsden to Fisheries Point, Admiralty Island
- Pillsbury Point, Kootznahoo Inlet
- Killisnoo Harbor
- False Bay to Tenakee Inlet, Chichagof Island
- Point Hayes fort

Teqʷedi (Eagle-Wolf):

- Mitchell Bay, Kootznahoo Inlet
- Killisnoo Harbor
- Whitewater Bay (some house sites)
- Peril Strait west of Sitkoh Bay

Dᴀqł'awedi (Eagle-Wolf):

- North Arm of Hood Bay (received from Decitan)
- Chaik Bay (some house sites)
- Herring Bay ?
- Eliza Harbor

Although sibs held title to territories, this did not mean that only their members could utilize them. Actually anyone in the community could hunt or fish or gather food on them, provided he or she acknowledged the legal claims of the owners and could also cite his or her own relationship to one of the owners. The last was usually easy to do.

Within the region surveyed, the most promising sites from an archeological point of view are the villages at Whitewater and Sitkoh Bays; the forts at Pillsbury Point and Daxatkanada Island in Kootznahoo Inlet, and Marten Fort in Hood Bay. Of course, other sites that were not visited may offer more to the archeologist than any of these, or some sites, visited but not thoroughly explored, may be of greater value than we now suppose.

PETROGLYPHS AND PICTOGRAPHS

Localities where rock carvings and paintings were seen or were reported may be summarized as follows:

(1) At the mouth of Thayer Creek, technique not described; said to represent a moon and an eye. This report was made by a white

man, based on the statement of another white man, and since it was not confirmed by a native who had visited the place many times we may suspect it.

(2) Stone Island in Kanalku Bay, Kootznahoo Inlet; circles and dots were painted recently on the rocks as an aid to navigation by white men prospecting for coal.

(3) "Anchor for Angoon," the large boulder on the west beach in front of the lineage houses, on which slaves were said to have been killed at potlatches. It bears badly worn petroglyphs, some representing faces (eyes and mouth), made by or representing slaves (?); arabic numerals referring to a score in a basketball game; other indecipherable pictures said to have been made by visiting Tsimshian Indians over 50 years ago. All are so worn that one would suppose them all to be very old, although they were undoubtedly made at different times. They were too indistinct to be copied.

(4) Pictographs on the face of a cliff about one-half of a mile south of Angoon Isthmus, at Magpie Point, said to have been made by the Tsimshian Indians in human blood. Two of the pictures were traced and will be described in greater detail below.

(5) Petroglyphs at unspecified localities in Hood Bay, Chaik Bay, and Whitewater Bay. On Head Island in Whitewater Bay the rocks are said to have pictures of faces. These petroglyphs could be "read like totem poles," and thus identified the sibs claiming the area.

(6) Pictographs of a circle (or semicircle) with a dot in the center, and a comma-shaped figure (fish?), on a low rocky point just north of the village site in Whitewater Bay (fig. 7, *c*).

(7) Pictographs on a conspicuous cliff 4 miles south of Whitewater Bay. According to one report these were made by a Tsimshian war party and are supposed to represent men in a canoe. Other informants said that they had been made to commemorate the rescue of a party that had drifted across Chatham Strait on a raft; the shaman with the party was able to communicate their plight to a shaman at Hood Bay or Angoon (see p. 58). These pictures were photographed and sketched and will be described below.

(8) Pictures near the cannery at Tenakee (technique unknown) are said to commemorate an attack on the Wuckitan inhabitants of the former village at Tenakee.

(9) Many petroglyphs at the village site near Chatham in Sitkoh Bay. These were photographed and sketched and will be described in a later section.

The petroglyphs in Tlingit territory have received more attention than the red pictographs, the rock carvings near Wrangell being especially well known. No thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the reasons why paintings and carvings were made on the rocks have been obtained from the natives. Our informants, who probably did not themselves know the old traditions very well, indicated that rock pictures were made to commemorate such events as victory in war (Tenakee), transfer of territory or other wealth in settlement of a feud (Sitkoh Bay), important potlatches, especially ones involving slave sacrifice ("Anchor for Angoon"), and shamanistic exploits (near Whitewater Bay). Others ascribed the red paintings at this last site to Tsimshian war parties (in commemoration of victories?). The Chilkat also said that red pictographs near Klukwan were made to celebrate the slaying of enemies in battle. In both cases, it is interesting that the red color is supposed to have been derived from human blood. Still others said that the petroglyphs on the "Anchor for Angoon" were made by the Tlingit themselves and by visiting Tsimshian simply to pass idle hours.

Keithahn has found that petroglyphs are almost invariably located below high-tide mark on beaches near the mouths of salmon streams, and believes that they were made for the purpose of attracting the salmon. The designs represent sib crests or supernatural beings (Salmon Boy, Raven, Killer Whale, or Sea Monster) (Keithahn, 1940, pp. 129 f., p. 132 note 4). Since such supernaturals are associated also with specific sibs (or with groups of allied sibs), the symbols representing them may also be sib crests. Thus, Emmons has described and illustrated the petroglyphs on the northwest point of Etolin Island. Animal figures predominate and all are totemic, representing the crests of the Stikine sibs that claim the area. Other figures are circles (interpreted as the Sun) and spirals (representative of the Woodworm), both of which are also sib crests. In addition, are faces, "coppers," and rattles. Emmons also published petroglyphs on Lisiansky Bay, Baranof Island, where the totemic crests are organized to illustrate the Raven myth of the theft of water. This area was claimed by the Raven KısAdi sib of Sitka. Although this last design was apparently treated with reverence by the natives, and was undoubtedly associated with cherished sib traditions, Emmons could secure no information about the reasons for making the petroglyphs nor about their age. The natives simply said that the pictures had already been there in the days of their fathers' fathers (Emmons, 1908 b).

Our informants implied that petroglyphs and pictographs did consist of proprietory totemic designs, and so, indirectly if not directly, would indicate the sib that had territorial claims to the areas where they were made. In a general sense, therefore, we may think of these rock pictures as graphic representations of sib prerogatives, analogous to the designs on decorated blankets, crest hats, carved posts, painted house fronts, etc. Any of these pictures or symbols may at one and the same time serve as illustration of the event, mythical or recent, through which the sib acquired the rights in question, and also, if referring to a supernatural encounter, serve as a magically efficacious token of the powers then obtained. That the interpretation of rock pictures by the natives is so often vague, may perhaps be explained by the fact that the techniques of rock painting and carving are much cruder than those employed in ordinary wood painting and carving, so that the styles of the pictographs and petroglyphs, while related to those of traditional Northwest Coast art, are yet different.

PICTOGRAPHS AT MAGPIE POINT NEAR ANGOON

These pictures are painted on the vertical face of a cliff which can be easily reached at low tide by walking over the beach from Angoon. Those in the lowest group are about 10 feet above high-tide level, but are accessible from a convenient ledge. The highest picture is 6 feet above these, and can only be reached by scrambling up to a narrow shelf above the lower group. The pictures are in dull red paint, evidently hematite mixed with some fatty substance. All are cracked and weathered, but two were clear enough to trace, even though the exact outlines had to be guessed in places (fig. 7, *a*, *b*).

The clearest and apparently most recent painting is that of a three-masted ship, with jib, 3 yards on each mast, and a high stern. Some of the rigging is shown, but not the sails. There may be a flagstaff at the stern, and several vertical lines suggest men standing on the deck. The hull is outlined, not rendered in solid silhouette, The lines are clumsily drawn as if with the fingers or the frayed end of a stick. This picture may commemorate a shipwreck which occurred many years ago somewhere south of Angoon, from which the natives obtained valuable articles. The widow of John Shuwika (cuwika), chief of the Wuckitan "Fort House" at Angoon, tried to tell Garfield about the wreck, and her daughter also mentioned it to us, but although it was evidently an important historical event, unfortunately neither of these ladies had sufficient command of English to tell the story, and no interpreters were available. A Russian steamer was lost off Whitewater Bay, and the American schooner *Langley* somewhere in Chatham Strait (Morris, 1879, p. 56), and there were doubtless other wrecks of which I have been unable to find any record. The picture may refer to one of these, or may possibly commemorate the first encounter with Europeans. Our informant, for example, was evidently familiar with the story of the meeting with La Pérouse in Lituya Bay in 1786.

Just to the right of the ship is a picture which is less distinct and

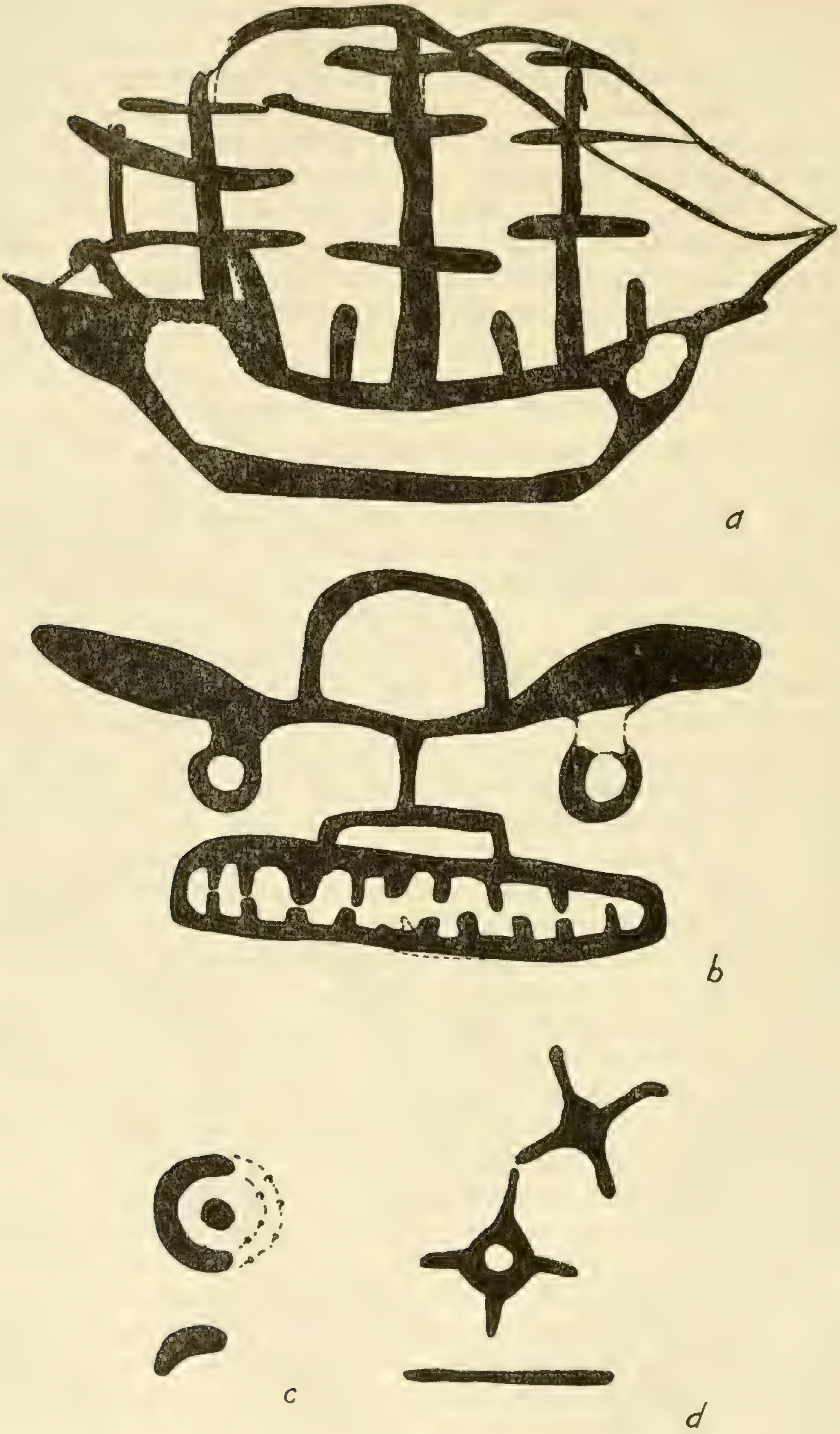

FIGURE 7.

(For legend, see opposite page.)

may, therefore, be older. Three other designs, above and to the left of the ship were probably similar, although they are so nearly obliterated that we cannot be sure. The one which we were able to copy is a masklike face, seen full front. It has a wide mouth with prominent teeth, a flat broad nose, two eyes below but connected by a pair of flaring winglike appendages, possibly fins. The central arch over the nose is probably a dorsal fin. I believe that the killer whale is represented. We were unable to find anyone who could or would attempt to interpret these pictures.

PICTOGRAPHS SOUTH OF WHITEWATER BAY

The red paintings on the conspicuous cliff between Whitewater Bay and Eagle Island can be approached only by boat. They are easily seen from the water, since they cover a vertical distance of about 12 feet (fig. 7, *d*). The color is a dull red brown. Although we landed on the rocks below the pictures, we could not reach them, for the lowest was well above our heads and the vertical face of the cliff afforded no means of climbing up. The paintings must, therefore, have been made from a scaffold or from a rope lowered from above. Although we had been told the paintings represented men in a canoe, nothing of the kind could be seen in the vicinity. Instead, the uppermost figure is an X; below is a circle with four rays,[13] and below that a horizontal stripe. The two upper designs are about 5 feet in size, their arms and the stripe below them are at least 6 inches wide.

PETROGLYPHS AT SITKOH BAY

At least 10 petroglyphs were found carved on the rocks at the base of the knoll which forms the southeast end of the Ǥanaẋadi village site in Sitkoh Bay (fig. 8 and pl. 11). A man of that sib who lives in Juneau said that his people had made the carvings many generations ago and that they were "their mark." The least weathered and therefore presumably most recent design (fig. 8, No. 5; pl. 11, *f*) he recognized as a "copper." According to Garfield, when the Ǥanaẋadi left the Angoon area, surrendering their territorial claims to the Decitan, they carved this symbol on the rocks at Sitkoh Bay in token of the wealth they were giving (Garfield, 1947, p. 441). The tradition thus appears to be supported by archeological evidence,

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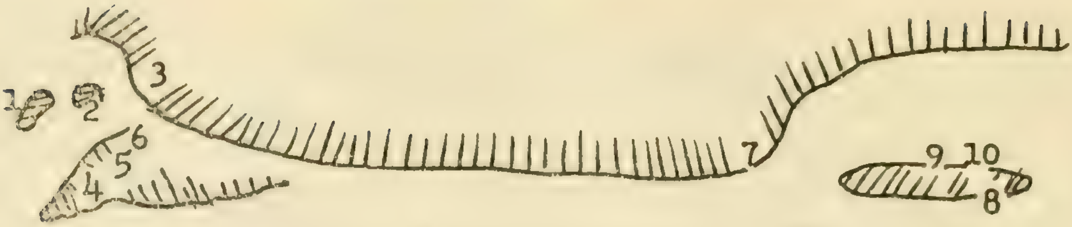
[13] This may perhaps represent the sun, for it is not unlike a sun symbol published by Emmons, 1908 b, fig. 57.

FIGURE 7.—Pictographs. *a*, Ship (original 16½ × 9¾ inches); *b*, Mask of killer whale (original 14½ × 7¼ inches), Magpie Point near Angoon; reproduced from tracings. *c*, Circle (original 12 inches) and fish (?) (original 4 inches), Whitewater Bay; sketched. *d*, Symbols on cliff near Whitewater Bay; sketched. (Large figures 5 feet long; arms and stripe 6 inches wide.)


1
2
3
6
5
4
7
9
10
8

SKETCH MAP OF SITKOH BAY SITE
SHOWING LOCATION OF PETROGLYPHS

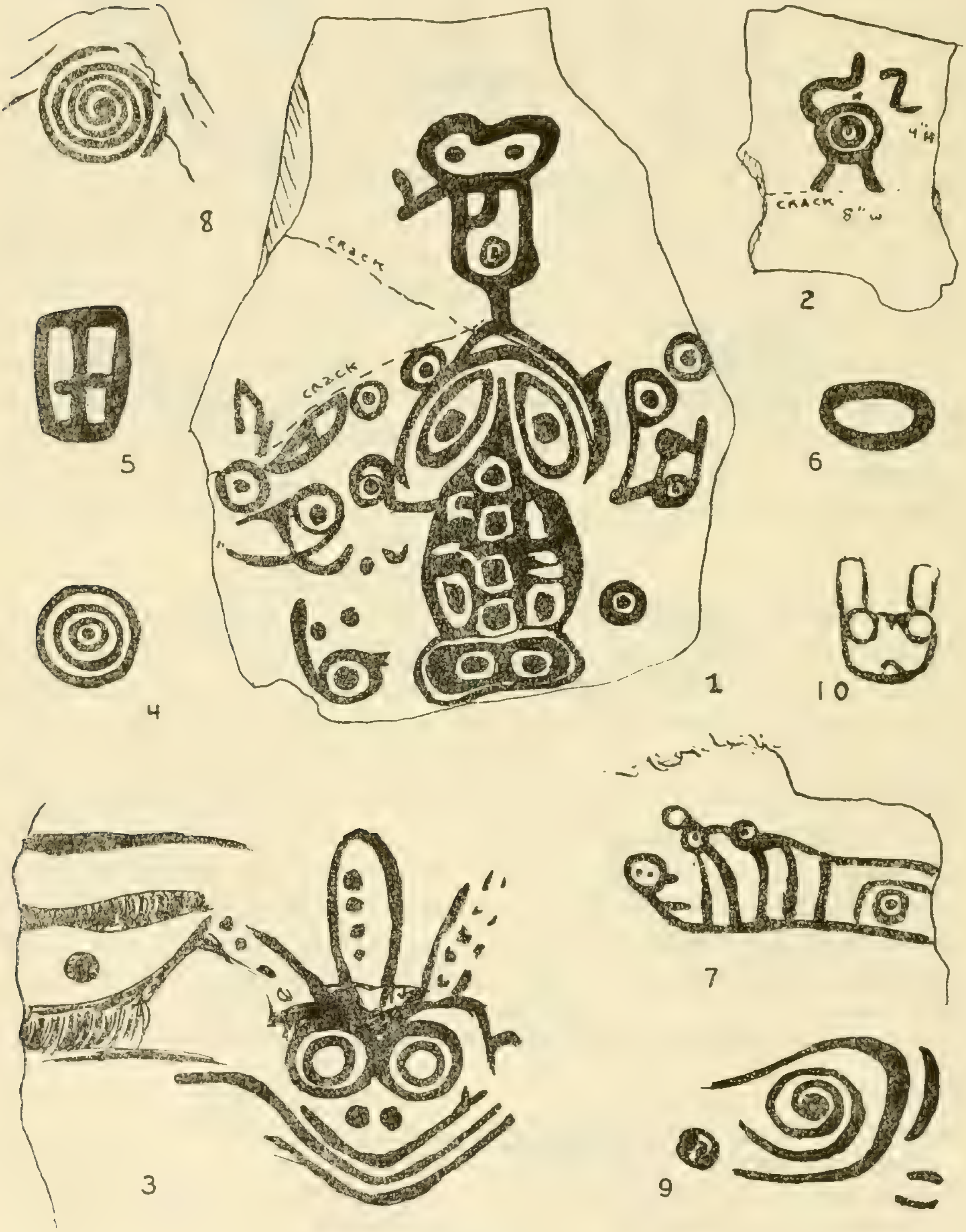

8
4"H
CRACK
8"W
2
CRACK
CRACK
5
6
1
10
4
7
3
9

FIGURE 8.
(For legend, see opposite page.)

although, of course, it is not impossible that the petroglyph itself suggested the story. The "copper," 4½ to 6 inches wide and 9 inches high, is outlined, and the area is divided into four quarters. The design is similar to that of a "copper" carved on Etolin Island, except that the latter has only a transverse line across the middle and a vertical line dividing only the lower half of the shield (Emmons, 1908 b, fig. 56).

Our Juneau informant professed to recognize the face surmounted by three featherlike ornaments (fig. 8, No. 3), although we had only a sketch drawn from memory to show him. He said that the picture was "derived from the Tsimshians," but how we could not learn. It represented a warrior with face blackened by charcoal, called t‘útcdúk, "black face." [14] "When they put that on," he explained, "they don't go back from their word," that is, blackening the face is like making a vow. In the winter of 1948–49, an old woman was found dead in her cabin at Angoon, lying composedly on the bed (or floor ?), her face blackened with soot from the stove. It was believed that she had known herself to be dying, and had thus prepared herself for death to show that she was not afraid. She was the daughter of a Teqʷedi father, and the Teqʷedi are supposed to be particularly brave, a trait also claimed by the children of the sib. I am not, however, satisfied with this interpretation of the petroglyph. Dr. Erna Gunther, who saw the drawing made in the field, suggested that it might represent an octopus or devilfish, since the latter has a head with pointed beak and large eyes; the "feathers" would represent the tenacles with suction cups.

Our informant refused to say anything more about the pictures.

The most complicated carving (fig. 8, No. 1; pl. 11, *d*) was on a fallen slab of rock above the beach. The flat surface measures 38 by 52 inches, and is cracked in several places. The designs are pecked to a depth of about one-fourth of an inch, and have been lined with white paint, evidently smeared on by someone who wished to photograph them. This, however, made it impossible for us to obtain either a completely accurate photograph or sketch. The complicated design, in which circles with central dots are prominent, suggests a number of animal or bird figures. The largest element looks like a frog, and above it is what may be the head of a raven. The other parts cannot be interpreted. In complexity and style, this carving is not unlike the petroglyph illustrating Raven's theft of water (Emmons, 1908 b, fig. 44).

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[14] This perhaps refers to the hero, Black Skin (dukt'uʟ'), cf. Swanton, 1909, pp. 145–150.

Figure 8.—Petroglyphs, Sitkoh Bay. Drawn by Catharine McClellan. *Upper*, Sketch map of southeastern end of site, with numbers indicating the location of the petroglyphs described below. *Lower*, Petroglyphs: 1, Carved slab, 38 by 52 inches, with frog, raven's head (?), etc. 2, Carved slab, 16 by 17 inches, with concentric circles with arms. 3, Devilfish (?) face on vertical cliff; total carved area, 20 by 16 inches. 4, Concentric circles on ledge, 5½ inches in diameter. 5, "Copper" on ledge, 6 by 9 inches. 6, Oval on ledge, about 6 inches long. 7, Unidentified carving on vertical cliff, about 15 inches long. 8, Spiral on low outcrop, 14 inches diameter. 9, Spiral and lines on low outcrop, 8 by 12 inches. 10, Animal's head on low outcrop, 6 by 6 inches.

A smaller broken slab (fig. 8, No. 2) is about 16 by 17 inches. This has a design of two concentric circles with dot in the center and three or four curving arms. A photograph taken some years ago (pl. 11, *a*) shows both lower arms extending beyond the crack, the lower right arm being curved rather like the upper left one. These portions were obliterated when we saw it, however.

The face of a devilfish (fig. 8, No. 3) is on a vertical face of rock, and when we found it, it was covered with moss and lichens. The surface of the rock bends to slant back at an angle of about 20 degrees at approximately the line of the creature's forehead. The lines of the head are lightly pecked; those to the left are deeper and wider. Above the face are traces of at least two other badly weathered faces with large round eyes, too indistinct to copy. The total area of these designs is 20 inches wide and 16 inches high, and the lowest part is 16 inches above the ground.

On the ledge of rock which runs out onto the beach and which is probably covered at extreme high water (pl. 11, *f*), are the "copper" (fig. 8, No. 5), a set of three concentric rings around a central dot (fig. 8, No. 4), and an oval (fig. 8, No. 6). The circles are 5½ inches in diameter, and the design is almost identical with an Etolin Island petroglyph identified by Emmons' informants as representing the sun, although Emmons himself reports that the same design is also used for the earth (Emmons, 1908 b, fig. 58).

On the cliff at the northwest end of the knoll is a complex design which we were unable to interpret (fig. 8, No. 7; pl. 11, *b*). The pecking is only one-eighth of an inch deep. The petroglyph is smeared with commercial white paint and has been used for target practice.

The remaining petroglyphs are on low rock outcrops northwest of the cliff. A spiral, 14 inches in diameter (fig. 8, No. 8; pl. 11, *c*), faces the sea. A second spiral, 12 by 8 inches (fig. 8, No. 9), an animal's head with erect ears, 6 by 6 inches (fig. 8, No. 10), and an indecipherable figure (not illustrated) face toward the land. The spirals, as Emmons indicated for a petroglyph on Etolin Island (Emmons, 1908 b, fig. 61), may well represent the woodworm, for this is one of the most important crests of the ǤanAx̣Adi.

Although other pictures were reported in the vicinity of the Sitkoh Bay village site, we could not find them.

SUMMARY

It is not surprising that the rock carvings and paintings in the Angoon area should be similar in style to those carved on rocks near Wrangell (Keithahn, 1940, fig. 14), on Etolin Island in the Wrangell area, and on Lisiansky Bay near Sitka (Emmons, 1908 b). In addition to general resemblances in the treatment of animal forms, we may also note such specific elements as ovals, circles, concentric circles, spirals, X's, and "coppers." There are also four-pointed stars with a dot in the hollow center, a five-pointed star with a hollow center, and a circle with dot in the center and 10 rays, all of which are somewhat analogous to the four-pointed star with hollow center at Whitewater Bay. Lastly, there are faces, with or without outlines, the eyes indicated by circles, concentric circles, or circles with dots. As Heizer has pointed out, these same elements are also found among the petroglyphs at Cape Alitak on Kodiak Island (Heizer, 1947). However, although the Kodiak petroglyphs are undoubtedly, as he argues, related to or derived from Northwest Coast tradition, in feeling they also seem to be akin to the pictographs in Prince William Sound in many respects (de Laguna, 1956, pp. 102–109).

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES AT DAXATKANADA ISLAND AND PILLSBURY POINT

DAXATKANADA ISLAND

Since most of our archeological work was concentrated on Daxatkanada Island and at the nearby site at Pillsbury Point it is appropriate to describe these in more detail.

The name daxátkanadà was translated as "Where the tide passes back and forth." Swanton (1909, p. 77) refers to a place, the location of which he does not specify, as dātx-xātkᴀɴᴀdá-nū, which is etymologically correct for "around rapids-run fort," but which is not the way the word is pronounced in rapid speech. This is probably our island, although the only incident connected with it which Swanton reports is that some Indians from the south, who were returning from successful raids on Hoonah settlements, stopped at the fort and broke up the canoes of the [Angoon] people to frighten them so that they would not dare to fight. There is no mention of a long siege. Other traditions connected with Daxatkanada are recorded on pages 150 ff.

This island (fig. 9) lies about 1½ miles northeast of Angoon, at the upper end of Channel Point Island at the entrance to Steamer Passage. It is a little over 360 feet long and about 150 feet wide, and is formed by sharply tilted beds of conglomerate, sandstone and shale. This formation, which has a strike almost magnetic north and south, with a steep dip to the east, also makes the rocky headland at Pillsbury

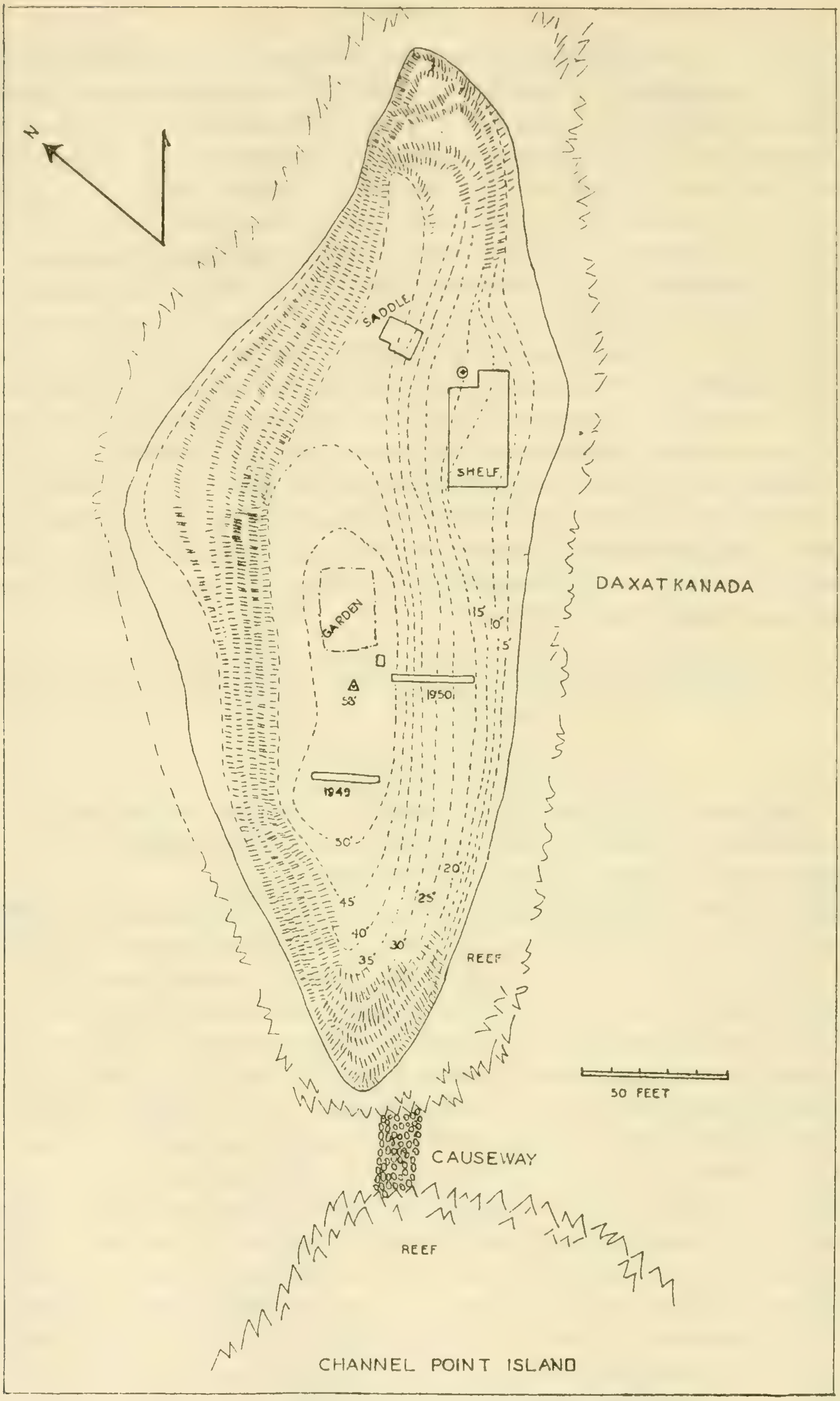
N
SADDLE
SHELF
DAXATKANADA
GARDEN
15'
10'
5'
58'
1950
1949
50'
20'
25'
45'
40'
30'
35'
REEF
50 FEET
CAUSEWAY
REEF
CHANNEL POINT ISLAND

Figure 9.—Sketch map of Daxatkanada Island.

Point 300 yards farther north. The tidal currents that drain and fill Mitchell Bay rush past both sides of the island, so that approach is difficult at any time except slack water. Access to the narrow summit, at its highest point some 58 feet above the high-tide mark, is possible only from the eastern side.

According to our informants, the Decitan built a palisade or fort (nu) around the top of the island. This was described as 20 feet high (!), with loopholes on each side from which one could look out. Two young men served as sentries at night, changing sides at intervals. If anyone tried to get in, they would kill him with a club. Our informant added that the remains of this fort were still visible when he was a little boy, about 1870–80. Inside was a bark house. Another informant said that the trees were all cut down, smooth or bare (?) "like a table," but did not explain whether only the island or the nearby shores were also cleared. This woman also said that only men stayed on the island, although the women who remained at Pillsbury Point might visit them if no danger threatened. Ten men used to be at Daxatkanada at a time, crossing to and from Pillsbury Point at slack water. The men were stationed at the fort to watch and listen for the enemy who, it was feared, would come to take slaves.

There is a stone causeway or "bridge" (pl. 3), now about 28 feet long and 15 to 16 feet wide, made of boulders, which connects Daxatkanada with the northernmost point of Channel Point Island. It is exposed only for an hour or two at low water. It was built (by slaves ?) so that people from the little island could cross to get water from the spring or seep on the larger island. According to the most credible version of the siege of Daxatkanada (see p. 151), the absence of water in the fort was disastrous for the defenders.

At a later time, a long deceased older brother of one of our elderly informants lived on the island and had a garden on top, the outlines of which are still visible. An elderly woman said that when she was young, she went with a party from Angoon to gather edible seaweed on the western side of the island. At that time she was told that there had been a fort on top, but did not know how people could climb up to it. She called the island the "head of Angoon."

In 1949 the site was briefly explored and several test pits dug. In 1950, after securing permission from several of the leading Decitan men, excavations were concentrated in two areas: a shelf about halfway up the sloping eastern side of the island, and a saddle above the northern end of this shelf. In addition, test pits were dug on the higher parts of the island, and a trench was run down the steep slope of the eastern face of the island below the summit.

THE SHELF

This sloping area on the eastern side of the island is about 40 feet long (N–S) and 20 to 25 feet wide. At the northern end is a brass marker of the General Land Office Survey, marked: "1931, T50S R68E S28." This was estimated to be about 34 feet 4 inches above mean lower low water, or 20 feet 6 inches above mean high-tide line. From this marker, we ran a line south down the middle of the shelf, and on each side of this line divided the area into 5 foot squares, designated "A, B, C," to "H" from north to south, and "IW, 1E, 2E," and "3E," according to their position west or east of the middle line (fig. 10). These squares were excavated in 6-inch levels, parallel to the sloping surface of the ground, and where possible, the specimens found were cataloged, not only according to square and depth, but according to the natural stratigraphy of the deposits (fig. 11).

The highest point of the excavated portion of the shelf was at the northwest corner of square B1W, 21 feet 6 inches above high water (1 foot above the survey marker). From here the shelf sloped toward the southeast, the lowest point being the southeast corner of square G2E, some 8 feet 6 inches below the highest. It was evident that the path to the top of the island must have traversed this shelf and led up to the saddle above its northern end. It was on this shelf and on the steeper slopes above and below it that most of the shelly midden had accumulated. Although one of our informants believed that we would find more artifacts on top of the island, where the fort had been, this part of the site seemed very sterile, and most of our material came from the midden on the shelf. In comparison with the sites in Prince William Sound and Cook Inlet with which I am familiar, it was not, however, as rich in shells, animal bone or artifacts.

The whole northern end and western side of the island is now wooded; the central part of the summit, the shelf and most of the eastern slope was grown with berry bushes. When these had been removed from the shelf, no overmantle of turf was found above the midden, but shells, animal bones, etc., were visible on the surface. The midden consisted of dark humus, containing numerous pebbles and rocks, many of which were discolored and cracked from use in stone boiling. There were also shells, animal, bird, and fish bones (see below), charcoal fragments, wood ash, and even some fragments of wood (not roots). This shelly midden varied in depth from 6 inches at the northern end of the shelf to a maximum of 30 inches in the central portion (F1E, F2E, G1E, G2E), and dwindled away again to 10 inches at the south. In some places, especially along the eastern edge, the midden rested directly on the protruding ridges of the steeply tilted bedrock, but in most areas it was underlain by a sterile subsoil

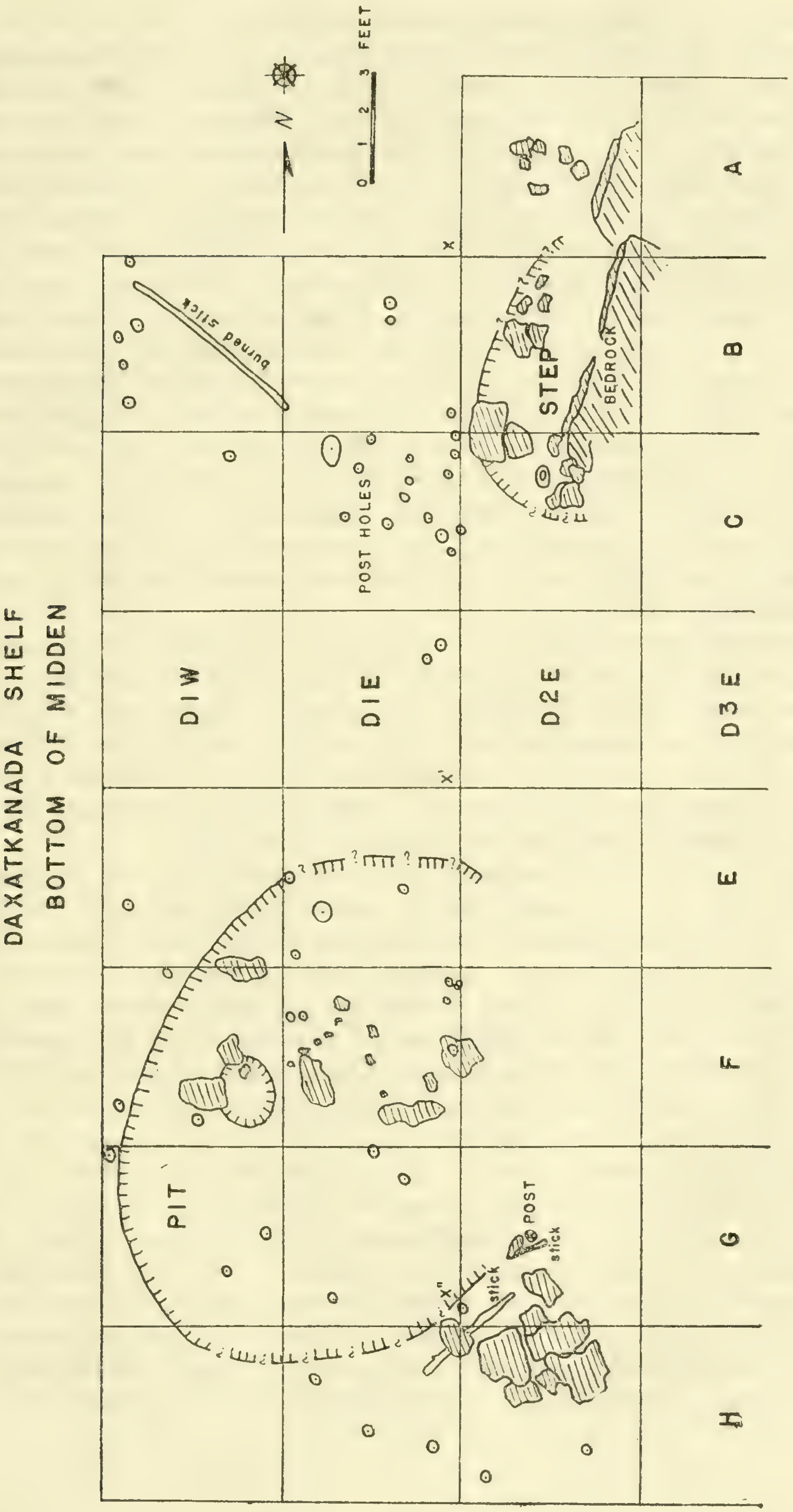
DAXATKANADA SHELF
BOTTOM OF MIDDEN
N
0 1 2 3 FEET
burned stick
POST HOLES
STEP
BEDROCK
PIT
POST
stick
stick
X
X'
X"
DIW
DIE
D2E
D3E
A
B
C
E
F
G
H

FIGURE 10.—Bottom of midden on shelf, Daxatkanada Island. Redrawn by Irene Waraksa.

(podosol) of a clayey-sandy nature, derived from the decomposed bedrock. This subsoil varied in color from gray to pink, tan, and even orange, as it had been stained by organic materials leached from the midden above or had been baked by fires. Between the midden and the subsoil there were either thin patches of charcoal or of soil mixed with gray ash; or, especially in the central section, the midden and subsoil were separated by thicker bands of dark greasy humus that contained decayed or carbonized organic material (forest litter ?). These intermediate layers of charcoal, ash, or dark humus extended to a maximum depth of 33 inches to 38 inches below the surface, and while usually distinct from the shelly midden above, in some places seemed to merge with it, since they contained lines of decomposed shells, animal bones, etc., which had probably been trampled into them. These intermediate layers, like the midden, also contained a good deal of gravel and small stones, most of which, we assume, were carried up from the beach by human agency. Other rounded pebbles are identical with those in the underlying conglomerate and probably weathered out of the latter and worked up into the soil through frost action.

Although cross-sectional diagrams were made of this stratigraphic sequence at a number of places in the deposit on the shelf (fig. 11), there was no observable difference between the types of artifacts recovered from the upper and lower parts of the midden itself, or between these and the fewer specimens from the ashy and greasy layers below the midden proper. (See the lists of artifacts given in the Appendix according to square and layer.)

The intermediate layers begin near the western edge of the shelf, as if they, like the shelly midden above them, had been formed by washing or dumping of material from the slope above, and they peter out toward the east. Some of these layers were cut through in E1W, E1E, E2E to form the shallow pit or depression that occupies most of F1W and G1W, all of F1E and G1E, and parts of E2E, F2E, and G2E. This is an oval area, about 15 feet long (NE–SW) and about 12 feet wide (SE–NW), although the exact boundaries to the south and east could not be clearly traced (fig. 10). It was in this depression that the midden attained its greatest depth. Near the bottom of the pit was a lens of concentrated shells, and both above and below this shell pocket were evidences of fire. Although the bottom of the depression is not level since it slopes toward the southeast, one has the impression it was a "floor" of some kind, for the lowest layers of the midden are here dark and compressed, and lenses of beach gravel, shell, and ash are trampled into the underlying greasy forest humus. There are also a number of large stones

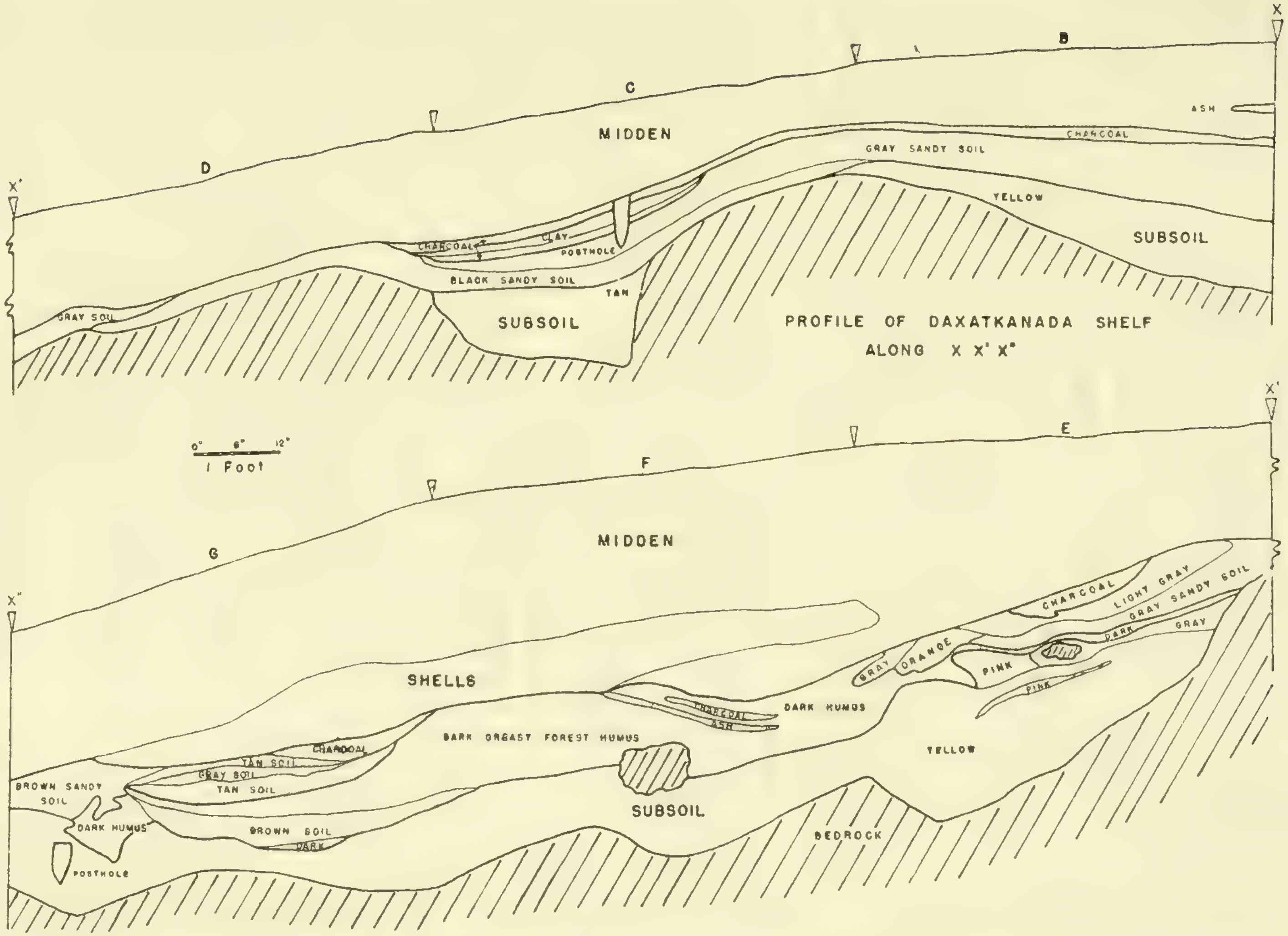
X
B
C
D
X'
ASH
CHARCOAL
GRAY SANDY SOIL
MIDDEN
YELLOW
SUBSOIL
CHARCOAL
CLAY
POSTHOLE
BLACK SANDY SOIL
TAN
GRAY SOIL
SUBSOIL
PROFILE OF DAXATKANADA SHELF
ALONG X X' X"
0" 6" 12"
1 Foot
X'
E
F
G
X"
MIDDEN
CHARCOAL
LIGHT GRAY
GRAY SANDY SOIL
DARK
GRAY
PINK
PINK
GRAY
ORANGE
SHELLS
CHARCOAL
ASH
DARK HUMUS
YELLOW
DARK GREASY FOREST HUMUS
CHARCOAL
TAN SOIL
GRAY SOIL
TAN SOIL
BROWN SANDY SOIL
DARK HUMUS
BROWN SOIL
DARK
SUBSOIL
BEDROCK
POSTHOLE

FIGURE 11.—Cross section of midden on shelf, Daxatkanada Island. Redrawn by Irene Waraksa.

at or near the bottom of the midden, within or close to the edges of the depression. Both inside and outside this area there are many postholes, ranging in size from 2 to 6 inches in diameter. They were made by driving sharpened posts or stakes into the subsoil to depths of 6 to 10 inches. In a few of these, the remains of posts were actually preserved; other holes were empty or contained material derived from the midden above. From the posts themselves and from the shapes of the holes, it was evident that the posts and stakes had been cut with sharp-edged metal axes or adzes (pl. 4, *c*, *d*). Associated with these postholes and outside the depression in G2E and H2E, there was a pile of rocks that marked the southern edge of the area. Although the pattern of postholes is far from regular, it looks as if there had been here a flimsy shelter of some kind, perhaps made of or covered with bark, in which fires were built. Some of the posts and stones inside the shallow pit may have supported an artificial flooring, but more probably served as racks or spits for smoking or cooking fish. As time passed, kitchen debris accumulated, some of which was trampled underfoot, or fell below the flooring.

Remains of what may have been a similar but smaller structure were discovered at the north end of the shelf, the southern edge of which is represented by the postholes and piled rocks in C2E, C1E, and B1W. The eastern edge of the shelter would have been inside the ridges of bedrock in B2E and A2E. Inside this area were hearths and accumulations of gray ash. Just inside the "wall" of stones in C2E was a stone vessel (pl. 4, *a*) which may have been a lamp. This section of the site was excavated before the saddle was investigated, and it was therefore impossible to compare it with the steps uncovered on the edge of the saddle above. However, the cutting or digging away of the subsoil in both areas seems to have been quite similar, and it is possible that if the terrain between the shelf and the saddle had been cleared we might have found a series of steps leading up from the beach to the top of the island. It should be noted that one of the flat stones found near the bottom of the midden in C2E was worn smooth as if it had been repeatedly trodden on, like a stone found in the midden over a step at the edge of the saddle (fig. 12).

That there may once have been repositories of cremated remains on the island is suggested by finding two human teeth: a charred incisor in A2E and another tooth on the burned subsoil in C1E. We explored the ledges in the cliff on the western side of the island, where partial overhangs might have been used to shelter the bodies of shamans, but found no trace of graves. The natives did not mention that burials had been made on the island.

THE SADDLE

We excavated the eastern edge of the saddle above the northwest part of the shelf, where access to the top of the island was easiest. Squares 2-T and 2-S were on top of the saddle, 1-U, 1-T, 1-S at the break of the slope, and O-U, O-T, and O-S on the edge of the slope (fig. 12). The upper edge of the excavation (2-S) lay about 17 feet above the survey mark on the shelf, or 37 feet 8 inches above the high-

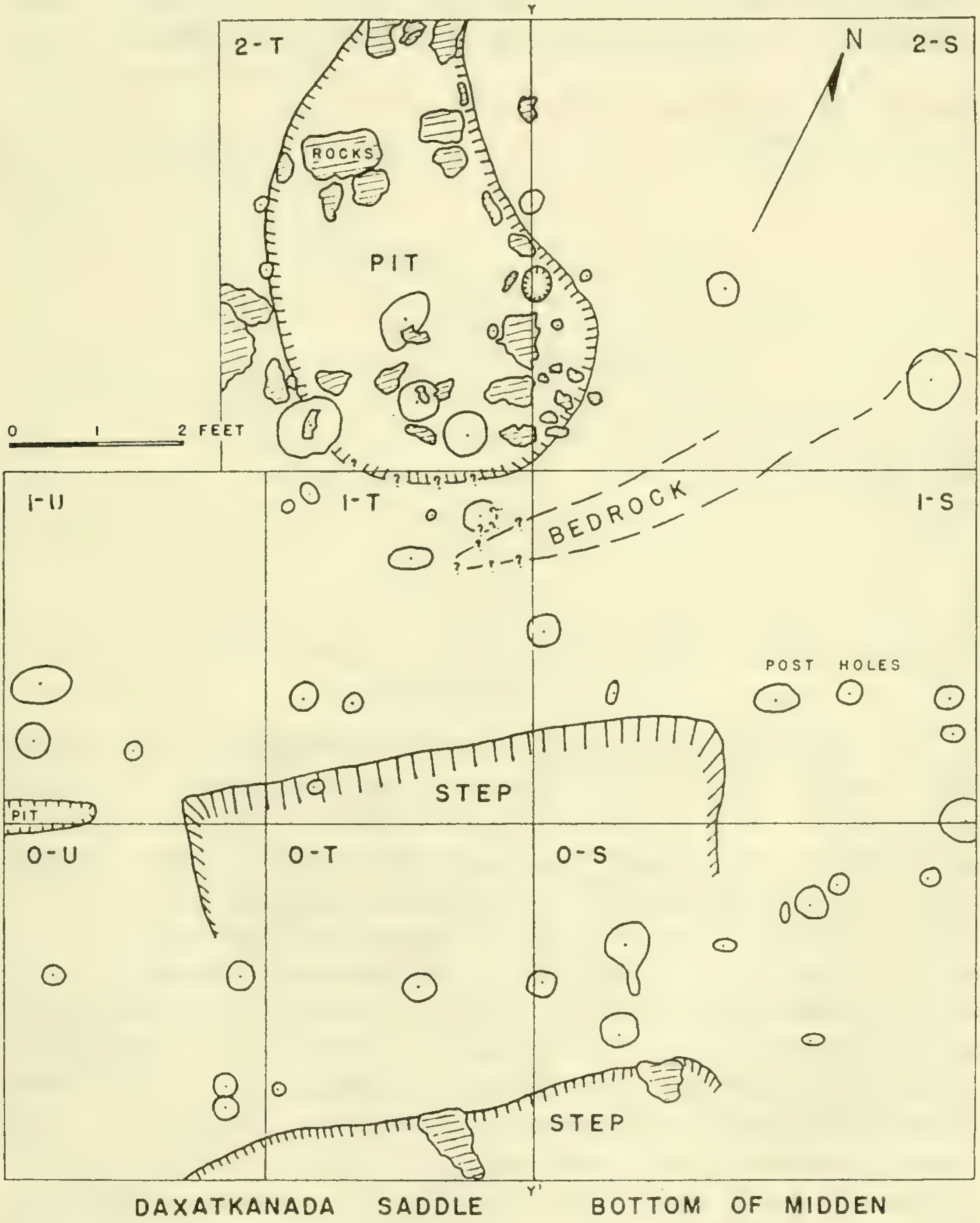
Y
2-T
N
2-S
ROCKS
PIT
0 1 2 FEET
1-U
1-T
BEDROCK
1-S
POST HOLES
PIT
STEP
O-U
O-T
O-S
STEP
Y'
DAXATKANADA SADDLE BOTTOM OF MIDDEN

FIGURE 12.—Bottom of midden on saddle, Daxatkanada Island. Redrawn by Irene Waraksa.

tide line. The lower edge of the excavation (O-S) was 4 feet 6 inches below the top of the saddle, or about halfway down the steep slope to the shelf. Because of the character of the terrain, most of the squares on the saddle were smaller than those on the shelf.

The saddle and its eastern slope were covered by moss 2 to 4 inches thick (fig. 13). Below this was a midden deposit, the upper part of which was hard-packed brown humus. The midden on top of the saddle was only 9 inches thick and contained but scanty traces of shell or animal bone. The midden layer became thicker lower on the slope, where it reached a maximum depth of 14 inches and held richer evidence of human occupation. Below this layer in some places, there were patches of finely crushed shells and humus, resembling guano, which were almost sterile of artifacts. The bottom of the midden below the "guano" consisted of pockets of dark, charcoal-stained humus, containing shells, animal bones, and artifacts. The deepest pocket, at the lower edge of 1-S and 1-T, was some 30 inches below the surface. Underlying the midden was bedrock or yellow clay or pinkish-yellow subsoil. Dug or driven into the subsoil and clay were postholes like those encountered on the shelf. Some seemed to form irregular lines across the slope, and scattered between them, at or near the bottom of the midden, were many large rocks. A depression (natural ?) on top of the saddle was lined with thin slabs of rock and layers of bark, between which were lenses of crushed shells and some animal bones.

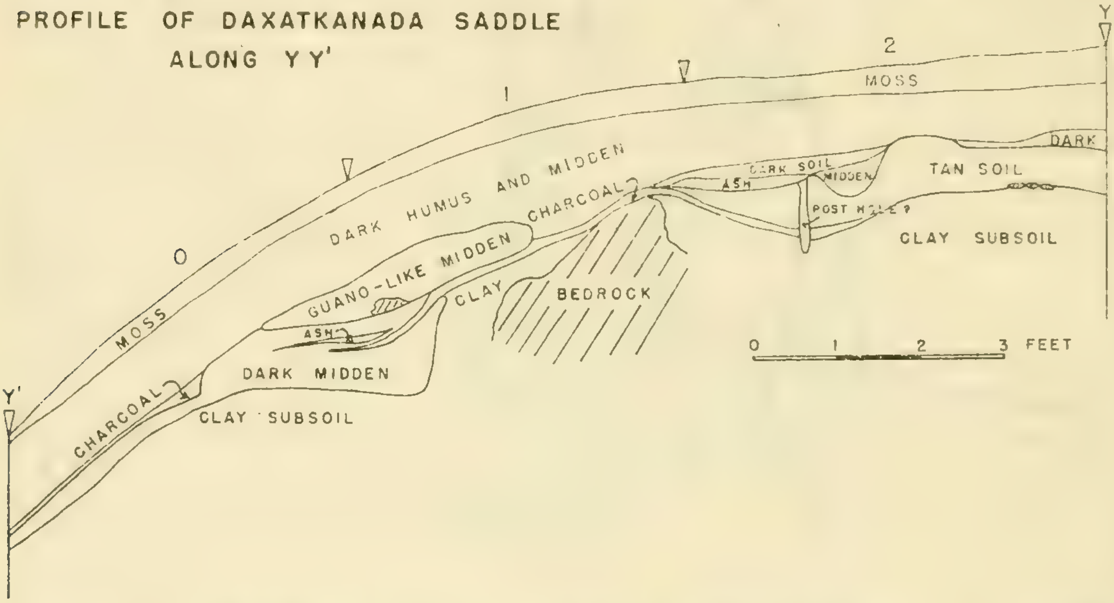
PROFILE OF DAXATKANADA SADDLE
ALONG YY'
Y
2
MOSS
1
DARK
DARK SOIL
MIDDEN
TAN SOIL
ASH
DARK HUMUS AND MIDDEN
CHARCOAL
POST HOLE ?
CLAY SUBSOIL
O
GUANO-LIKE MIDDEN
CLAY
BEDROCK
0 1 2 3 FEET
MOSS
ASH
DARK MIDDEN
Y'
CHARCOAL
CLAY SUBSOIL

Figure 13.—Cross section of midden on saddle, Daxatkanada Island. Redrawn by Irene Waraksa.

On the slope below the saddle there were two apparently artificial steps, about 12 to 15 inches deep, 2 feet 6 inches wide, and 6 feet long, cut into the subsoil. It was in these that the deepest layers of midden had accumulated. Since it is also here that there is the easiest access to the top of the island, we imagine that these steps had been cut to facilitate the climb. From the top of the saddle there is a very gentle slope to the highest point of the island.

Although one might have expected to find at the edge of the saddle the postholes of the palisade which was said to have been built around the top of the island, most of the holes found in this section of the site were only 3 to 4 inches in diameter, which would appear to be too small for a defensive purpose, and there were too few of a larger size to have made an effective wall.

Again, no difference could be seen between the types of artifacts found in the upper and lower parts of the midden on the saddle. They were of the same kinds as those found in different layers on the shelf.

OTHER TEST PITS

Two test holes dug in 1949 were on the shelf, one in square E1E and the other overlapping squares B1W and B2W.

In 1949 a trench was dug across the top of the island, just south of the summit. This revealed humus, mixed with ash, charcoal, and some fire-cracked rocks to a maximum depth of 26 inches, and contained a few artifacts. The level area here is only about 25 feet wide (E-W) and 50 feet long. In 1950 another test hole was dug just north of the highest part of the island, where there was only a layer of humus, 6 or 7 inches deep, on top of sterile subsoil and bedrock. In the subsoil were found two postholes, one very small, the second somewhat larger and flanked with rocks which probably served to wedge in the post more securely. Between the two holes was a broken splitting adz (pl. 5, *a*) which appeared to have been driven into the ground after the cutting end had been broken off. Because the cultural remains were so scanty, we made no further attempt to excavate here and thus cannot report whether there is any evidence to confirm the tradition of a bark house on top of the island. There was certainly no sign of postholes large enough for a palisade, and indeed the soil is so thin that it is difficult to see how it could support anything more than stakes or light poles.

In 1950 we also dug among the trees between the saddle at the north end of the island and the garden just north of the summit, but found only forest humus.

The eastern slope of the island just below the summit was also explored in 1950. This has a mantle of shelly midden about 6 inches thick and is overgrown with berry bushes. In running a narrow trench from the top halfway down the slope, remains of a fallen tree or timber were uncovered, but this was not enough to prove the existence of a palisade in this section of the island.

The north and south ends of the island and the whole western side have steep cliffs, impossible or exceedingly difficult to climb. Some of the ledges overhang slightly to form shallow rock shelters, but we found nothing in them.

CONTENTS OF THE DEPOSITS

During the excavations, notes and diagrams were made for each 6-inch level of each square. These records include descriptions of the character of the soil or midden deposits, sketches of cross sections, and sketches or photographs indicating the position of postholes, boulders or piles of rocks, hearths, artifacts in situ, etc. In addition, we kept for future identification all of the bird, fish, and animal bones from each level and square, as well as samples of the shells and vegetal remains. A summary of the character and contents, including artifacts, of each level of each excavated square will be found in the Appendix.

Despite the differences in the character of the deposits (shelly midden, dark earthy midden, ash, "guano," dark forest humus, and subsoil), there were no corresponding differences to be detected in the types of artifacts or of the food remains found in these various layers. The total number of specimens was too small to indicate trends in the proportions of artifact types during the period of occupation. Everything, in fact, indicated that this site had been occupied only in early historic times.

WOOD AND SEEDS

Fragments of wood and charcoal were collected. These included posts or pieces found in postholes, firewood, and shaped pieces that seem to have been remains of wooden implements. Among the latter were a fragment of a barbed harpoon head, a peg with a slit at one end, a grooved implement (possibly an ulo handle), and 5 small pegs or sharp sticks.

The species of wood[15] represented are: western hemlock (*Tsuga heterophylla*), mountain hemlock (*T. mertensiana*), lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*), and Sitka spruce (*Picea sitchensis*). Many of the specimens of wood and charcoal were interpenetrated by the roots of a kind of wild grape (*Vitis* sp.). Hemlock was the wood best represented, and seems to have been used for all or most of the larger posts or stakes. One of these (pl. 4, *c*) appears to have been sharpened with a steel ax. There is no other definite evidence that steel or iron axes were used at the site, although many of the postholes, as already mentioned, seem to have been made by driving in sharp stakes which had probably been cut with such metal tools (pl. 4, *d*).

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[15] We are indebted to Dr. Elso S. Barghoorn, associate professor of botany and curator of paleobotany at the Biological Laboratories, Harvard University, for this identification.

Berry seeds were found in little piles or pockets at a number of places in the deposits on the shelf. They are seeds of the red-berried elder (*Sambucus callicarpa* (Greene),[16] sometimes classified as *Sambucus racemosa* Linn., var. *callicarpa* (Greene) Jepson). This plant, called yeł' by the natives, grows on the island, and indeed on almost every clearing in southeastern Alaska. The natives gather the berries in August, when some green ones may still be found in addition to the ripe red ones. These are slowly boiled, together with the tiny twigs which are said to add to the flavor, and the resulting paste is put up in jars for the winter. Some women add sugar, but others prefer the unsweetened tartness of the natural berries. In the old days, the paste was dried in the form of cakes and stored in boxes. The seeds in the midden may represent the remains of such cakes, or may be the result of the storing activities of mice. However, since both bears and the natives' dogs are fond of berries, the seeds may have been derived from the feces of such animals.

SHELLFISH, BARNACLES, SEA URCHINS

The midden at Daxatkanada indicates that shellfish formed an important part of the diet. Although no complete count was made of all the shells uncovered in the excavations, samples indicate that the most common species [17] used for food were cockles (*Cardium corbis* now *Clinocardium nuttali* (Conrad)), blue mussels (*Mytilus edulis* (Linne)), common and giant chitons (*Katharina truncata* (Wood), *Cryptochiton stelleri* now *Amicula stelleri* (Middendorff)), and especially clams. The latter were chiefly the common smooth Washington clam (*Saxidomus giganteus* (Deshayes)), the Pacific little-neck (*Protothaca staminea* (Conrad)), and the large Pacific gaper (*Schizotheraeus nuttali* (Conrad)), although there were also a few examples of other species of clams (*Humilaria kennerleyi* (Reeve), *Pododesmus macroschisma* (Deshayes), *Mya truncata* (Linne), *Macoma inquinata* (Deshayes)). Less common were small whelks or dogwinkles (*Thais lamellosa* (Gmelin), *T. lima* (Gmelin), *T. canaliculata* (Duclos), *T.* sp.) and tritons (*Argobuccinum oregonense* (Deshayes), *Buccinum* sp.), although they were probably eaten.

According to the natives, shellfish were not eaten during the summer because of the danger of poisoning. The presence of shells in the midden, therefore, suggests occupation of the site in the autumn.

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[16] Identified by Dr. LeRoy E. Detling, curator of the herbarium, University of Oregon.

[17] Identified by Francis A. Riddell, Allyn G. Smith, and Robert E. Greengo; and also by Dr. Edward W. Gifford, Director of the Anthropological Museum, University of California. The names have been checked against Abbott, 1954.

winter, and spring. Chitons, both large and small species, seem to have been eaten at any time of the year.

Sea urchin spicules and fragments of shell were found at a number of places in the midden and were identified as those of *Strongylocentrotus purpuratus.* Sea urchins are said to be eaten in early spring and in late summer.

A few limpets (*Acmea testudinalis scutum* or *patina*, and *A. pelta*), Sitka periwinkles (*Littorina sitkana* (Philippi)), and a small burrowing clam (*Saxicava pholadis* (Linne), now *Hiatella arctica*), as well as a few barnacle shells (*Balanus cariosus* (Pallas), and possibly *B. glandula*),[18] were probably introduced into the site by accident, for there are too few examples from Daxatkanada to suggest that these ever formed part of the native diet. On the other hand, we did find a pendant made from a piece of barnacle shell (pl. 10, *e*).

The shells of a few land snails (*Polygyra* (*Vespericola*) *columbiana* (Lea) and *Haplotrema vancouverensis* (Lea)) were found in the midden, but these are certainly the remains of animals attracted by the limey soil, for there is no evidence that snails were eaten by the Tlingit.

FISH

Although many fish bones were found in the midden, most were too fragmentary to be identified. The species represented [19] were salmon (*Oncorynchus* sp.), halibut (*Hippoglossus stenolepis*), salmon trout (*Salmo* sp.), rockfish or "rock cod" (*Sebastodes* sp.), and sculpin (*Enophrys bison* and possibly *Ceratocottus diceraus*). Salmon, of course, formed the basis of Tlingit diet, although halibut were also important. An informant said that "black cod" was considered the best variety of cod, but that the people did not care for trout. The salmon, of course, are caught only in the summer and fall, but such quantities were smoked and dried for consumption at other seasons that the presence of many salmon bones in the deposits gives us no clue as to the time of year when the island was occupied or visited.

BIRDS

Many bird bones were found, of which a considerable number had been shaped as specimens, but it was not possible to identify the species represented with certainty.[20] Most of the larger bones and claws are those of eagles, probably the bald eagle (*Haliaeetus leucocephalus*) which is very common in the region today, of swans, probably the whistling swan (*Cygnus columbianus*), and of loons, probably the common loon (*Gavia immer*). The smaller bones seem to belong to unidentified ducks and shore birds.

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[18] Identified by Dr. Frank Rogers, California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco.

[19] We are indebted to Dr. W. I. Follett, curator of fishes, California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, for these identifications.

[20] Dr. Robert T. Orr, California Academy of Sciences, San Francisco, examined the material but was able to make only a partial identification.

ANIMALS

Animal bones were numerous, and represent many of the mammals indigenous to Admiralty Island today.[21] The present species include five kinds of brown grizzly (*Ursus neglectus*, *U. insularis*, *U. eulophus*, *U. mirabilis*, and *U. shirasi*) found only on Admiralty Island. There are also the American black bear (*Euarctos americanus americanus*), Sitka black-tailed deer (*Odocoileus sitkensis*), Alexander Archipelago wolf (*Canis lupus ligoni*), marten (*Martes americana actuosa*), Pacific land otter (*Lutra canadensis pacifica*), Admiralty beaver (*Castor canadensis phoeus*), marmot (*Marmota* cf. *caligata*), mink (*Mustela vison nesolestes*), four kinds of weasel (*Mustela arminea salea*, *M. a. inites*, *M. a. celendra*, and *M. a. seculsa*), Alaska white-footed mouse (*Peromyscus maniculatus hyleus*), Admiralty meadow mouse, found only on Admiralty Island (*Microtus admiraltiae*), and the Alaska red squirrel (*Sciurus hudsonicus picatus*).

Sea mammals in the area are, unless recently extinct, the sea otter (*Enhydra lutris lutris*), Pacific harbor seal (*Phoca richardii richardii*), sea lion (*Eumetopias jubata*), and Pacific harbor porpoise (*Phocaena vomerina*). In addition, there are various types of whales, chief of which are the blackfish whale and the killer whale or orca.

Riddell compiled tables indicating the frequency of all identifiable animal bones in each 6-inch level in each square excavated (see the Appendix). While these do not indicate any appreciable change in the types of animals hunted during the occupation of the site, they probably give an accurate indication of the proportions of the various species utilized by the natives. The Indians had told us that sea otter were formerly obtainable only in the outer waters, and it was surprising to discover that this animal, represented by a total of 310 identified bones, was by far the most common species at Daxatkanada (and also at Pillsbury Point, see below). Since the island seems to have been occupied in early historic times, Riddell concludes that this animal was hunted for its fur, which was the most valued pelt sought by the early white traders. It is likely that the Tlingit also ate the meat. Our informants have evidently forgotten the traditions of early days when even the inner bays swarmed with these animals.

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[21] Dufresne, 1946. Animal bones from the site were identified by Francis A. Riddell, assisted by Sheilagh Thompson and J. Arthur Freed, and by Dr. Seth B. Benson, curator of mammals, Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, University of California.

Thus Vancouver wrote, referring specifically to Kake territory, but probably equally applicable to Admiralty Island:

> These bays and arms abound with a greater number of salmon and sea-otters, than Mr. Johnstone had observed on any other part of the coast; and as they were in greatest abundance at the heads of these places, it was inferred that the salmon, and other small fish, form a large proportion of the food of the sea-otters, which are thus induced to frequent these inland channels, to which at this season of the year [August 1794] such fishes resort. [Vancouver, 1801, vol. 6, pp. 52 f.]

Both the Angoon and Kake natives he encountered had many sea otter furs to trade. Evidently Kootznahoo Inlet was a rich hunting area.

Next in importance at Daxatkanada was the harbor seal, represented by 140 bones. It was undoubtedly hunted for its flesh, blubber, and skin. It is still hunted by Angoon men, and the older people, especially, relish the meat and fat. Today the skins are used for moccasins sold to curio shops, and the Government pays a bounty for the dried seal noses. One of our informants demonstrated how a seal humerus was used in divining. She held up the bone and said, "Tomorrow I will have good luck," speaking through the hole in the distal end. She then tossed the bone onto the ground. If it lands and balances keel side up, this is a good omen or means an affirmative answer to a question. On this occasion, she had to throw the bone several times to achieve the desired result, and the next evening informed us, half joking, that her luck had been good.

The other animals were much less important to the people of Daxatkanada. The totals of bones were: beaver 18, deer 17, porpoise 14, bear 14, marmot (including porcupine) 9, sea lion 8, land otter 2, and dog 9. Some of the last may include wolf bones, since the old breed of hunting dog was described as being very like the wolf. In addition, there were a number of scraps of whale bone, as well as implements of whale bone. Our informants said that while their ancestors did not know how to hunt whales, they ate the meat and also liked the oil.

Riddell concludes that, aside from fish and shellfish, sea mammals were more important to the inhabitants of Daxatkanada than were waterfowl or land animals.

PILLSBURY POINT

This rocky point, which lies about 300 yards north (magnetic) from Daxatkanada Island, is called yaycayi nu, "Whale's Head Fort," a name evidently inspired by the shape of the headland at the end of the point. The tongue of land is actually composed of two headlands, between which is a small flat, about 150 feet wide, on which there are a cabin and garden (fig. 14). There is said to be a spring north of the garden, but we did not find it. The native owner,

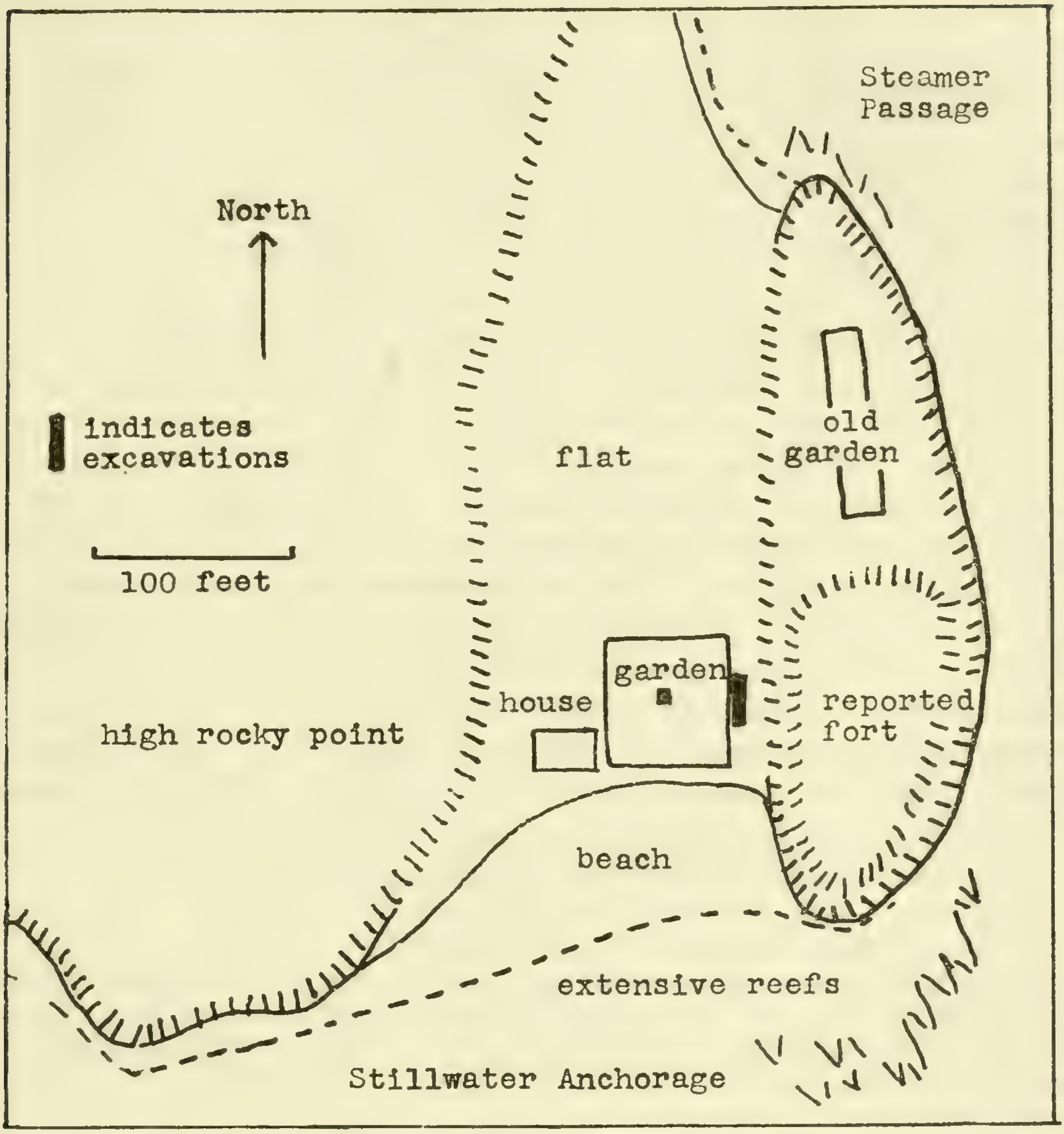
Steamer Passage
North
indicates excavations
100 feet
flat
old garden
garden
house
reported fort
high rocky point
beach
extensive reefs
Stillwater Anchorage

Figure 14.—Site of Whale's Head Fort, Pillsbury Point.

a Wuckitan man, now lives in Angoon so that his children can attend school, for travel between the village and Pillsbury Point is rendered difficult by the strong tidal currents that rush past the point and are again encountered near Angoon.

One informant said that the headland at the end of the point had a wall or palisade around the top and that "hundreds" of people stayed inside the fort. It was a Wuckitan place, but was abandoned after the inhabitants were defeated by enemies from Hoonah (see p. 150). An elderly woman said that when her mother was a little girl there used to be many houses on the flat, all crowded together. Like the fort, this was also a Wuckitan settlement and was abandoned when the Government enforced peace between warring tribes. The women used to stay here, while garrisons of 10 men at a time stood watch on Daxatkanada.

We found no trace of cultural deposit on the summit of the headland nor on top of its lower northern spur, where there are remains of an abandoned garden. Nor was there any sign of the reported palisade. A test pit in the garden on the flat exposed a midden of black humus, shells, fire-cracked rocks and pebbles to a depth of 20 inches. Below this was a layer of burned(?) and rotted wood, about 6 inches thick, that rested on sterile subsoil. The owner told us that he had found an "ax" (splitting adz), an implement like an "ax-pick" (head of a war club?), a labret, and a quartz strike-a-light in his garden.

The midden is much deeper and richer on the eastern edge of the flat, where refuse had apparently been piled up against the steep side of the headland or been thrown down from the top of the knoll above. Since this portion of the site had not been disturbed by gardening, and because the deepest part of the midden was 6 feet thick in one place, most of our explorations were concentrated here. We dug a trench 4 feet wide and 18 feet long in the narrow space between the steep slope and the garden fence. Here 10 major layers could be distinguished, although some of these either ran together in some places or petered out and were replaced by minor deposits. The artifacts recovered are listed in the Appendix. The layers were:

(A) Loose rocks and pebbles from the hillside above, and humus.

(B 1) Humus with rock fragments and whole clam shells.

(B 2) Humus with pebbles and tightly packed crushed shells.

(C) Dark midden of earth and closely packed shells.

(D) Midden with many sea urchin spines, mussel shells, clam shells, and fire-cracked rocks. (At both the north and south ends of the trench, layers C and D were replaced or varied by lenses and pockets of shells, pebbles, charcoal, ash, sea urchin remains, etc.)

(E) Dark midden with rotted wood.

(F) Midden with many mussel shells, some clams, charcoal, etc. (At the south end this had been cut away by a pit about 14 inches deep, and filled with material like that in layer E. We could not determine the areal extent of the depression.)

(G) Midden, mostly of green sea-urchin spines, with some clam and mussel shells.

(H) Thin layer of brown sea-urchin spines.

(I) Thin layer of tan-brown ash, sandy soil, wood and charcoal, resting on the subsoil.

The subsoil had been dug away in places, perhaps to make house pits or caches, and there were a number of large rocks lying on it or in the lower layers of the midden. A few postholes were also found. All this suggests structures of some kind, but our trench was too narrow to show the size or nature of these depressions, and we could not enlarge it without tearing down the garden fence and damaging the berry bushes in the garden. While most of the artifacts found here were like those obtained at Daxatkanada, a few additional types were encountered. However, there was nothing to indicate that the cultures at the two sites were different, although Pillsbury Point may have been slightly older, since no objects of white manufacture were found.

The fish bones were those of salmon, halibut, and "rock cod"; the shellfish, barnacles, and sea urchins were of the same species as those represented at Daxatkanada. The animal bones identified by Riddell consisted of: sea otter, 106; seal, 18; bear, 6; deer, 3; eagle (claws), 5; beaver, 2; porcupine, 2. There were also fragments of whale or sea lion bone. Pillsbury Point was evidently an important sea otter hunting camp.

FORTS

Daxatkanada Island and Pillsbury Point, as well as most of the other sites from which we obtained specimens, were designated by the natives as forts. These, as well as other places pointed out to us as having been fortified, were either small steep-sided islets or rocky promontories equally difficult to climb. They were said to have been fortified by a palisade of closely set posts. Such forts (nu) might surround a group of houses or huts, or a single house, like the former Wuckitan "Fort House" in Angoon that stood inside its own walls. It was disappointing that we were not able to discover any archeological evidence as to how such fortifications were constructed.

The lack of large postholes at Daxatkanada at just the places where one might have expected them for strategic purposes makes one question the tradition that the island was fortified, but is not sufficient to discredit it. Standing trees may have been left as the main supports of the walls, or some other method may have been employed to brace them which did not involve the use of posts sunk in the ground. That there may have been such methods is suggested by some of the descriptions of Tlingit forts given by the early explorers.

Lisiansky has described the fort erected by the natives at Sitka and taken by the Russians in 1804 (Lisiansky, 1814, p. 163, pl. 3). It was an irregular parallelogram, the longest side facing the sea. It was about 200 feet long and 120 feet wide, and enclosed 14 houses. The lower part of the walls was made of three courses of horizontally laid logs, set in two rows between which rose a palisade of close-set timbers. The latter were connected near the top by a horizontal beam (on the outside only?), and this was braced at intervals by posts leaning against the wall. There were a doorway and two holes for cannon on the side toward the water, and two large doorways or gates on the landward side. Lisiansky writes that the fort was "so thick and strong, that the shot from my guns could not penetrate it at the distance of a cable's length." Such a palisade, which depended upon the horizontal logs at the base of the wall and upon the log braces at the top for its strength, need not have required postholes. Indeed, at most of the sites reputedly fortified it would have been impossible to sink postholes in the shallow rocky soil.

A newer fort, built somewhere in Peril Strait by the natives who had fled from Sitka, was visited by von Langsdorff in 1805, who describes it as follows:

> Expelled from Norfolk Sound, they have fortified themselves here, upon a rock which rises perpendicularly some hundred feet above the water. The only possible access to it is on the north-west side, and they have rendered this extremely difficult by strewing it all over with very large trunks of trees which they have cut down. The rock itself is secured against attack of an enemy by a double palisade of large trunks of trees stuck close together, measuring from twelve to fifteen feet in heighth, and from three to four feet in thickness. A high natural wall of earth beyond the palisading, on the side towards the sea, conceals the inhabitants effectually, so that they cannot be discerned by any ship. [von Langsdorff, 1817, p. 410.]

Inside were a number of plank houses, each large enough to accommodate from 30 to 40 persons. The description of this place suggests that there was enough earth to hold the posts for the fort walls and for the house frames, as well as to form an outer protection for the palisade.

Vancouver's men in 1794 saw forts of a different type on the west coast of Kupreanof Island, that is, in Kake territory. These were apparently of the same kind as that built by the Kake Indians at Pybus Bay which our informant described as a temporary defense, and called by a special term meaning "built-up shelter" of horizontal logs, to distinguish it from a true fort with palisading. On Hamilton Bay, writes Vancouver—

> the remains of no less than eight deserted villages were seen; some of them were more decayed than others, but they were all uniformly situated in the summit of some precipice, or steep insular rock, rendered by nature almost inaccessible, and by art and great labour made a strong defence; which proved, that the inhabitants had been subject to the incursions of hostile visitors. These fortified places were well constructed with a strong platform of wood, laid on the most elevated part of the rock and projecting so far from its sides as to overspread the declivity. The edge of the platform was surrounded by a barricade raised by logs of wood placed on each other. [Vancouver, 1801, vol. 6, pp. 46 f.)

The Kake forts destroyed by Lieutenant Commander Meade of the U. S. S. *Saginaw* in 1869 are described as "about 100 feet square and from 15 to 17 feet high, and built of logs from 9 to 15 inches thick." They were apparently stockaded structures.[22]

Unfortunately, none of these descriptions is very detailed, and Lisiansky's plate was, of course, redrawn by a draftsman who probably had never seen a Tlingit fort, so it is not very accurate.

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[22] Beardslee, 1882, p. 54, quoting from Meade's report of February 24, 1869.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SPECIMENS FROM THE ANGOON AREA

INTRODUCTION

Specimens from the Angoon area are deposited in the University of Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia. The provenience of each object is given in the Appendix and in the captions of the illustrations. Here, specimens obtained in 1949 are designated by their museum catalog numbers, "49–25–1" and so forth, and those in 1950 by their field numbers since they were not accessioned when this report was written.

It will be remembered that attempts to correlate artifact types with layers of presumably different ages at Daxatkanada failed to reveal any significant differences between younger and older specimens, probably because the time span involved was so short. All seemed to belong to a period when the Tlingit had some access to trade material, probably obtained in exchange for sea otter skins, but before the aboriginal culture had been appreciably changed by contact with the whites. Although Hood Bay Fort and Pillsbury Point may be older than Daxatkanada, where a fragment of iron, a piece of glass, and a brass thimble were found, and where evidence of iron tools was present even in the lowest levels, there is nothing in the scanty finds from these other sites to suggest any difference in culture. For this reason all the available archeological specimens have been grouped together for purposes of description.

Although most of the artifacts can be readily identified either through comparison with ethnological material in museums or from information from the natives, it will be noted that there are a few types which are difficult to interpret. The collection is small and many of the objects are either crudely made or broken, so that they fail to give us an adequate impression of the richness of Tlingit arts and crafts. As already suggested, the impression of poverty may be due to the fact that the material was obtained from forts and temporary camps, to which the best possessions were probably not taken.

Unless otherwise specified, all the objects are to be understood as coming from the midden on Daxatkanada Island. Measurements enclosed in parenthesis "(—)" are given when the specimens are broken and the dimensions in question are therefore incomplete.

HEAVY STONE IMPLEMENTS

ADZES

The natives distinguish between the heavy grooved splitting adz (tʿáy̨ɪs, literally "stone wedge") which is used for chopping trees, and the smaller ungrooved planing adz (x̣út̓ᴀ, "chopper") which is used for shaping canoes and for similar work. Greenstone (s̓ùw) for making adzes was obtained from cliffs at a place called djig̨ʊx̣ in Redbluff Bay, Baranof Island.

Since there is evidence that iron cutting tools were available to the inhabitants of Daxatkanada, it is surprising that 11 stone adzes were found at this island. Three similar specimens were obtained from other sites in the Angoon area. They are predominantly of greenstone (schist, gneiss, serpentine, or chert), and are mostly examples of the heavy grooved type.

On the very top of the island was found a broken splitting adz of light greenish serpentine (pl. 5, *a*), from which the fore end is missing. It was as if the user, having broken his adz, had driven the useless blade into the ground. The specimen has a rectangular cross section, which seems to be the prevailing style in this area, and the flat surfaces of sides, bottom, and top are well polished. The butt is squared off but less carefully finished. Two grooves set between three knobs near the butt secured the lashing for the handle. The specimen is now (19.5) cm. long, but must originally have measured from 25 to 30 cm. It is 7.5 cm. high and 4 cm. wide.

The lower portion of a similar, well-polished adz of greenstone was found on the beach of the island The width is about 3.5 cm. and the fragment is (15.5) cm. long. A fragment of a similar specimen, with remains of a broad lashing groove, was found on the Chatham Strait beach at Angoon, near the canoe landing place in front of the lineage houses.

From the beach at Daxatkanada is a complete, but less well-made splitting adz of green sandstone (pl. 5, *b*). Although waterworn, the surface still shows signs of pecking, but was apparently not polished. A very narrow groove between two knobs at the rear end formerly held the lashing. The butt is narrowed to a wedge. The adz measures 21.5 cm. in length, 7 cm. in height, and 4 cm. in width.

A broken and unfinished green traprock splitting adz, roughly chipped and pecked, was also found on the Daxatkanada beach. The fragment is 6.5 cm. high and 3.8 cm. wide. A similar unfinished and broken specimen, with a shallow lashing groove, comes from the beach at Pillsbury Point. Also from Daxatkanada beach is an elongated greenstone boulder, pecked on one side to produce an irregular ovoid cross section. It was possibly intended for a splitting adz (or for a war pick), but the end which might have had a cutting edge is broken off and there is no lashing groove. It measures (14) by 6 by 4.5 cm.

Planing adzes are poorly represented. That they were sometimes made from broken splitting adzes is indicated by a specimen from

Daxatkanada midden (pl. 6, *a*). This is a long flake split from the fore end of a greenstone splitting adz, on which a new cutting edge has been ground. It is now 9.8 cm. long, 3 cm. wide, and 0.8 cm. thick. From the beach is the squared butt of a well-polished greenstone planing adz (pl. 6, *c*), measuring 3 by 1.4 cm. in cross section. A chip broken from the blade of a very well-polished green jade adz was also found in the midden.

Three other adz fragments, of greenstone, argillite, and green chert, were too broken for identification. A slab of roughly flaked and chipped hard rock, from the midden at Pillsbury Point, may be an unfinished adz or scraper.

MAULS AND PESTLES

Mauls, the head and handle carved from one piece of hard wood, were described by the natives who said that they were used for driving the stakes for fish weirs and for splitting planks by means of wooden wedges. They did not describe any with stone heads. (Boas, 1917, gives the word t'aqł for "hammer.")

A crude maul head, made of a light-colored gneiss boulder, with a roughly pecked groove for hafting (pl. 4, *b*), was found at the edge of the "G̣anᴀx̣ Women's Fort" in Angoon. It is 12 cm. high and 14 by 9 cm. in diameter.

Three pestles or hand mauls were purchased from a resident of Angoon, who said that they had been found in the vicinity, probably in the southern part of the town. She called them "potato mashers," and had herself used them for mashing berries. Such stone pestles (k'ᴀ-t̓ᴇx̓ᴀ "surface-pounder") were formerly used to crush leaf tobacco in wooden mortars with planklike bases (k'ᴀt̓ᴇx̓ᴀyɪt "surface-pounder-place-below," ł'úx̣ayet from ł'uw "wood," and ᴋᴀx̣ᴀgʷᴀ "surface-grinder"? Boas gives the word t'ᴀqaỵet for "mortar").

The finest of the three pestles (pl. 5, *d*) has a stirrup-shaped grip, from which one of the ends is broken. The diameter of the base is 6.5 by 7 cm., the height to the center of the handle is 7 cm., and the length of the handle when complete was about 11 cm.

The second specimen (pl. 5, *e*) is roughly cylindrical with an enlarged base. The striking surface is 6.5 by 9 cm. in diameter, the grip 5.3 cm. in diameter, and the height 9.7 cm. Pestles of this type usually have a flange or even a small peaked knob on top of the handle, but this specimen is simply finished off roughly, possibly after a break.

The third pestle is simply a conveniently shaped boulder, polished from use. The striking surface is 9.5 by 4.5 cm. in diameter and the height 8 cm.

Two fragments of what may have been pestles were found in the Daxatkanada midden.

HAMMERSTONES, STRIKE-A-LIGHTS, FIRESTONES

The 12 hammerstones found are simply rounded boulders or cobbles of chert, basalt, impure hematite, quartz, schist, etc. These weather out of the conglomerate and can be picked up on most of the beaches in Kootznahoo Inlet. Specimens showing use vary in diameter from 6 to 13 cm. One of these is a quartz block from which flakes have been struck. Eleven hammerstones (pl. 5, *f*) are from Daxatkanada midden, chiefly from the lower levels, and the twelfth is from the upper part of the Pillsbury Point midden.

The natives identified the quartz specimens as stone for striking fire. Quartz (’ɪn) could be obtained at Danger Point at the mouth of Kootznahoo Inlet and also at Point Gardner on the southern tip of Admiralty Island. A lump of quartz was struck against "any kind of stone," and the spark was caught on tinder made of red cedar bark (wùt‘). Wax from the ear was put on one of the stones. Fire was also made with a strap drill operated by two men. The hearth and drill were of red cedar, and a wooden brace for the drill was held in the hand. For obvious reasons, no identifiable remains of the fire drill outfit were found.

Many of the broken stones in the middens had evidently been used for cooking in watertight baskets. Such stones were called t‘ᴇ "rock," or ’inᴀ "something to cook with," a word usually applied to the wooden tongs with which the hot rocks were handled. To obtain a better draft, it was customary to rest the two main logs of a fire on a pair of rocks (gᴀn-cᴀỵɪ-t‘ᴇỵɪ "firewood head-of rocks-of").

WAR CLUB

Little information was obtained about weapons. The warrior carried a picklike club (k‘ét’u), which was also a hunting weapon. He might also have a hunting knife or dagger, and a long spear with a knifelike blade. He was dressed in wooden slat armor and a wooden helmet, and his face was blackened to express his determination.

What was apparently the stone head for a war club or pick (pl. 5, *c*) was found at the bottom of the Daxatkanada midden. It is of fine-grained crystalline rock. It has a pecked tang, 6.5 cm. long and oval in cross section, for insertion into the handle. The striking end is ground on both faces to produce a flattened diamond-shaped cross section. The point has been blunted by blows. The specimen is 12 cm. long, with a maximum diameter of 4.8 by 3.8 cm. at the rear of the striking end.

VESSELS AND PAINT

STONE DISHES AND POTTERY (?)

A number of crude stone vessels were found in the midden on Daxatkanada.

A large stone dish (pl. 4, *a*), possibly a lamp, is a roughly hollowed block of yellow-brown sandy shale, measuring 24 by 17 by 7.5 cm. It was lying, bowl side up, among a number of rocks near a hearthy layer. The circular bowl is about 13 cm. in diameter and 4 cm. deep.

A small carved sandstone bowl (pl. 6, *f*), now broken, but possibly an oval lamp, was found near a hearth in the same part of the midden. The specimen was originally 8 or 9 cm. long and 5 or 6 cm. wide. The highest part of the rim is 2.5 cm. high, and the thickest part of the wall is 1.4 cm. thick, although the bottom is only 0.5 cm. thick.

There is also a broken sandstone cup (pl. 6, *e*), originally about 4 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. high, with a depression about 2.5 cm. in diameter and 1.2 cm. in depth. A smaller and cruder cup (pl. 6, *d*) is made of a roughly shaped yellow sandstone pebble, 4.5 by 3.5 cm. in diameter and 1.5 cm. thick. The round pit on one face is possibly of natural origin.

A tiny piece of yellow sandstone, with what appears to be a drilled pit on one side, may be a toy. Two other fragments of red sandstone or sandy claystone have been hollowed into tiny bowls. In addition there is a tiny cup carved from claystone. It has been polished and the object subjected to heat so that it appears to have been baked.

The last specimen recalls the curious passage by Livingston F. Jones: "Some years ago the women were skilled in making *suck-a-chew* (pottery). Scarcely a trace of this art can now be found. Like rope making, it has fallen into desuetude" (Jones, 1914, p. 78). One of our informants recognized the word as śᴀᴋʿᴀdjux ("clay rolled up"), which she translated as "potteries" or "clay," but she had never heard that the Tlingit knew how to make pottery. She failed to recognize that the small claystone cup and the red and brown paint stones (described below) had been baked. As a child, however, she made doll's dishes out of clay. It was gray in color and was simply dried, not baked. The best clay came from Favorite Bay, just above Garnes' Point and from the north shore of Kanalku Bay.

It is impossible to identify the functions of these stone vessels. None of the Angoon natives had ever heard of stone lamps, although a man from Sitka said that in 1902 lamps were made of tin cans or dishes, with a rag for the wick and deer tallow or seal oil for fuel. The same man described another type of lamp; this consisted of a "bottle" cut from the hollow knobbed end of a kelp stalk, which was filled with seal oil. The rag wick was tied to a stick laid across the open top of the "bottle." It is possible that the Angoon and Sitka people at one time used stone lamps, as did the Yakutat natives, but our vessels, however, show no signs of charring and so cannot be identified as lamps. On the other hand, some informants said that the large stone specimen was a dish (s̓ix̓) for serving food.

PAINT

A patch of powdered hematite was found in the midden at Pillsbury Point. It is not quite as bright as the paint on the whetstone from the same site (pl. 6, *b*). There are probably several places where hematite in relatively pure form might be obtained; for example, a considerable amount was observed on the under surface of the natural bridge over the stream at Basket Bay. It seems to have been deposited here by water percolating through the rocks.

Material for red paint was also obtained by burning or baking shale pebbles. We were informed that a reddish-brown stone was obtained between Wilson Cove and Whitewater Bay on Admiralty Island. It was dug out, burned, and ground up to form red paint (łex̣̓ʷ), but our informant did not know how the pigment was mixed. Eighteen fragments of reddish baked shale, with ground and scraped surfaces, were found in the Daxatkanada midden. Some are very hard, a few soft enough to be used as pencils. They vary in consistency from very fine grained to sandy. Most are very small fragments, about 3 cm. long. If these pieces had been dipped in blood before being baked, that would probably increase the iron content and the redness of the resulting color, and such a practice would explain the almost universal tradition that pictographs were painted with slaves' blood. It is obvious that the red color of these paintings was not due to blood alone. They appear to have been made with hematite mixed with grease or something similar. They are not affected by water, and can be momentarily brightened by light applications of kerosene, which fortunately does not remove any of the pigment.

We also found three pieces of unbaked yellow shale, rubbed like pencils, and a pencillike object of yellow sandstone, possibly broken from a larger object.

The natives also spoke of blue paint (nexɪnt‘ᴇ) and black paint (ts̓akʟ, probably s̓ᴀ́gʷᴀ̀t, a preparation made from cedar bark or fungus to protect the face against sunburn). No examples of such blue or black paints were found.

ABRADING TOOLS

A great many different types of abrading tools seem to have been used for finishing stone, bone, and wooden implements, since these were among the most numerous specimens found.

STONE SAWS

There are four stone saws which could have been used for cutting stone or bone. These were not identified by the natives who had never heard of such implements. Two specimens from Daxatkanada are of gritty marble, both 1 cm. thick, and have been smoothed on both surfaces as well as on the cutting edge. The smaller is 5.8 by 3.5 cm.; the larger (pl. 7, *r*), was originally over (11) cm. long and is 6.6 cm. wide. Two other saws are of sandstone and are also ground on both faces. The finer (pl. 7, *q*), a fragmentary specimen only 0.5 cm. thick, is from the midden at Sullivan Point; the larger, 0.8 cm. thick, is from Pillsbury Point.

PUMICE

A single lump of pumice (g̣axqʷ or gaxqʷ), worn from use, was found at Daxatkanada. There is said to be a great deal of it near Sitka, where it was obtained from a place called gaxqʷ-'an "pumice town." It was used to polish carvings. People, probably men or youths in training, used to rub themselves with volcanic stones as charms (danakʷ, literally "surface medicine.").

WHETSTONES

Most of the 31 whetstones are flat slabs of rock which have been ground on one surface. A few show grinding on both faces, and a few have been worn or shaped on the edges. Some of the finer grained specimens are actually polished from use. The shapes are irregular and a number of the smaller specimens are doubtless fragmentary. The largest is a sandstone slab measuring 19.5 by 9.5 by 2.5 cm. While a few have been ground slightly concave, no specimens were found with grooves for sharpening points or shaping rods. The most interesting specimen is a rectangular micaceous sandstone slab from Pillsbury Point on which red hematite has been ground (pl. 6, *b*). The paint was identified by a middle-aged woman as that used for painting pictures (i. e. pictographs), not for use on the face.

There are 12 other sandstone specimens, 11 from Daxatkanada and 1 from Pillsbury Point.

The natives told us that whereas such rough stones were used for sharpening adzes or bone points, special smooth slate-colored whetstones were used for making mussel-shell knives. This material was obtained from the Taku River, and was moistened for use. It was called yʌyénʌ̀, a word applied to one of our nine specimens of soft shale or claystone. Two of these slabs have such a fine polish that they might have served as mirrors when wet. One of these is from the midden at Pillsbury Point, as is a green slate specimen. The other eight specimens of soft rock are from Daxatkanada, mostly from the upper levels.

There are also 5 whetstones of hard, fine-grained igneous rock, showing a high polish. In contrast to those made of soft shale, 3 of these were found at greater depths in the Daxatkanada midden, while the other two are from the upper levels at Daxatkanada and Pillsbury Point.

Lastly, from Daxatkanada, there are three slender pencillike shale pebbles, 6.4 to 9 cm. long, which could have served as whetstones.

RUBBING TOOLS

There are some 79 small implements of slate, shale, fine-grained sandstone, and even of marble, which appear to have been used for grinding or polishing softer materials such as wood or bone, probably in finishing grooved or carved objects. These occurred at all levels in the Daxatkanada midden, and one is from Pillsbury Point. Typical examples range in length from 3.6 to 10 cm., and in width from 0.8 to 4 cm. They are made from rather flat pebbles or from sections split from pebbles. The two longer edges, which may be curved or straight, are ground flat (dull), and one end is either rounded or bluntly pointed, less often chisel-shaped. On a very few specimens this end approaches a sharpened point or a sharpened edge. In some cases the grinding of the edges is the only shaping which the implement has received, but usually one surface has been ground flat. This surface, especially toward the point of the implement, has sometimes received a high polish from use. The opposite surface may be left rough, or may be more or less ground smooth, especially toward the point, and is flat, rounded, or slightly beveled. The grinding has evidently been done with a coarse-grained whetstone, for the worked surfaces are scratched, almost roughly whittled. Little care was taken in making these small tools, and the majority are snapped across the middle from rough handling. It is as if they had been quickly shaped for some particular purpose and then discarded. The range of forms is very great, even if only the most carefully made specimens are considered. Natives to whom they were shown sometimes failed to recognize them as artifacts, or saw no difference between them and the slab whetstones. Some thought they were fragments of slate knives. One woman spoke of dolls, implying perhaps that they were used for making dolls. She had told us previously that her mother had made a doll's head out of a marble pebble. Marble, like pumice, she added, was used for polishing stone and wood carvings.

Nine specimens are relatively thick and stubby, with blunt rounded ends (pl. 7, *a*, *b*). One of these has scratches on the rounded surface, suggestive of an incised design. In addition, a broken sandstone specimen of this type has an incised design on the flatter surface, suggestive of a conventionalized face (fig. 15, *a*). This suggests that such tools might sometimes be made or used for purposes other than polishing artifacts, perhaps as dolls, rubbing amulets, etc.

Five additional fragmentary specimens, including two squared-off butt ends, probably should be classed with the stubby tools mentioned above.

Somewhat longer, but with rounded ends, are five more specimens, the largest of which is an unfinished shale implement measuring 13 by 4.5 by 1.5 cm. Six more specimens are flatter, but still have a rounded end.

On five tools the end has become narrow, so that the edges tend to meet at an angle or point. The specimen remains broad and flat, and resembles an unfinished leaf-shaped weapon blade (pl. 7, *c*, *d*).

The implement may become still narrower until true chisels are produced (pl. 7, *f*). There are five specimens in this group, which includes the single example from Pillsbury Point.

On the other hand, the narrow end may be thinned by grinding from the rounded or faceted (upper) surface to produce a chisellike point, sharpened in the opposite plane from that of the last group. Six specimens are of this type (pl. 7, *e*, *g*, *h*).

On 23 examples the thinning and beveling have produced shapes that may be described as knifelike, although the edge and point are rather dull. There are two subvarieties of this type. On the seven specimens of the first subtype there are a rather pointed end and a fairly pronounced asymmetric bevel, so that one edge is thicker than the other (pl. 7, *i*). A rather thick and clumsy picklike implement of soft shale, measuring (8) by 3 by 2 cm., may be considered as the largest representative of this group. The second subtype of thinner or flatter knifelike tools with rounded points is represented by 16 specimens including fragments (pl. 7, *j*, *k*, *l*).

Two unusual specimens are still thinner and flatter, with rather sharp rounded ends. Another distinctive knifelike specimen with rounded end has been made from a split shale cobble and resembles the objects of hard rock described below as boulder chips. It measures 8.5 by 4 cm. Both surfaces are rough, but the edges which were probably once sharp are now rubbed dull as if from use. The shape is that of a large ulo or ulolike scraper.

Two other unusual specimens with rectangular sections have ovoid or faceted points, and could have been used for reaming or smoothing out holes (pl. 7, *o*).

Six fragments are broken from flat specimens with converging straight dull edges. One has the impression that the edges met at a relatively sharp angle, producing a chisellike variant of the leaf-shaped blade.

There are, lastly, three small fragments on which only a dull rubbed edge has been preserved so that classification is impossible.

UNFINISHED (?) OVAL STONE TOOLS

There are six marble specimens ranging in length from 5 to 9 cm. and in width from 4 to 5 cm. They differ from the rubbing tools just described in that the edges are unworked except by rough chipping or battering, although one surface has been ground smooth. The thicker specimens may have been intended for rubbing tools (pl. 6, *g*, *j*), while the three thinner ones with more carefully shaped edges could have been scrapers. They are all so crude that they appear to be unfinished, and identification of their function is impossible.

These roughly chipped marble specimens are paralleled by 10 ovoid implements made of micaceous schist. All of the flaking has been done from one flat surface of the slab. This surface may be ground somewhat smooth or left rough. The ends are rounded or bluntly pointed, and may or may not show signs of rubbing. These specimens range in size from 5.8 by 2.6 to 11.5 by 7.8 cm. They appear to be unfinished blanks from which rubbing tools or scrapers were to have been made (pl. 6, *h*, *i*, *k*). In addition, there is a similar schist artifact with a design incised on the flat surface (fig. 15, *d*). It is described under Incised Tablets.

An oval greenstone pebble (pl. 7, *n*), 5.5 by 3.5 cm., has been chipped from one flat surface to produce a blunt point. This surface and the edges show signs of rubbing, suggesting that it may have served the same function as the rubbing tools of softer materials. It comes from Pillsbury Point.

There is also a chipped slate blade from Daxatkanada (pl. 7, *m*) which appears to be an unfinished leaf-shaped rubbing tool (cf. pl. 7, *c*, *d*). It is ovoid, measuring 6 by 2.7 cm., with a pointed end and rounded butt, and has been shaped by chipping from one surface. This surface has been ground flat and the other partially smoothed, but the rather sharp edges are not ground.

None of these implements was recognized as an artifact by our informants. The only reference we obtained to anything similar was a mention of beach pebbles used as dolls. The children shaped these by resting the pebble on a rock and hitting it with a hammerstone. This would probably result in all (or most) of the flaking being done from one surface, as on the oval tools. We could get no clear account of the shapes of these toys, however.

KNIVES AND SCRAPERS

The aboriginal knife (łít‘ᴀ̀ "cutting tool") used by men had a stone blade and a wooden handle, wrapped around with a cord. The hunter and warrior also carried a larger two-edged, and sometimes two-bladed dagger (djɪxᴀnᴀt‘, literally "something near the hand"; or gʷᴀ́łᴀ̀, from gʷᴀł, "to strike with the fist"). At present, of course, ordinary pocket knives and hunting knives are used. In skinning and flensing seals, in removing blubber from the skins, and also in cutting fish, both men and women now use a butcher knife or an ulo.

The ulo used by women has an iron blade. The handle may be of wood, or a grip may be formed by folding back the edge of the iron and winding it with a rag. Informants did not agree as to whether the wooden handle was ever made with a hole for the fingers, as it is at Yakutat. The only wooden handles we saw at Angoon were unpierced. The aboriginal ulo was made of the shell of the large mussel (yiṡ "shell"), and the same word is applied to the modern iron ulo. These mussel-shell knives were about 4 inches long, sharp on one edge, and were used by the women for cutting fish as well as for skinning seals and other game.

A beaming tool of bone for working skins is still in use, or a butcher knife held in both hands may be substituted. The women also use a long-handled scraper with a small spoonlike iron blade to soften skins when they are stretched in a frame. In earlier days the blade was of greenstone.

WOODEN HANDLES

Three fragments of grooved or slotted wood that might have been handles for knives were found at Daxatkanada.

SLATE BLADES

There are very few slate or shale specimens which appear to have served as knives, perhaps because the natives at Daxatkanada already had metal tools.

Two pieces of slate, one smoothed on one surface with one straight (sawed?) edge, the other smoothed on both surfaces, may be fragments of ulo blades, but the cutting edges are missing. They were among the stones lining a depression at the bottom of the midden on the saddle. From the very bottom of the midden close by there is a crude slate ulo or knife with a blunt straight back and a curved sharp edge. It is 9.5 cm. long and only 2 cm. wide. Another crude ulo was made of a naturally sharp slab of slate, 8.5 cm. long and 4.5 cm. wide (pl. 7, *p*). There is also a shale slab with a partially sharpened straight edge, like a chisel or plane. It is similar to the knives made of sharp pieces of shale which appear to be common at the site on Mole Harbor on the other side of Admiralty Island.

A thin fragment of shale with a cut or sawed edge from Pillsbury Point, a fragment of slate which has been smoothed on one side from Sullivan Point, and a thin rectangular flake of slatey schist with worn edges from the bottom of the Daxatkanada midden may also be fragments of knives.

A thin chisellike slate blade, possibly for a scraper, has an incised design on one side consisting of several parallel lines (fig. 15, *f*). (See Incised Tablets, pp. 122–125).

SHELL IMPLEMENTS

A fragment of a large mussel-shell knife, probably an ulo, was found at Pillsbury Point (pl. 9, *n*). The shell is that of the large mussel, *Mytilus californiensis.* A bluntly cut end meets the naturally sharp edge of the shell at a right angle.

From Daxatkanada are a clamshell implement with dull edges, a blue mussell shell ground flat across the hinged end, and a large clamshell through which a hole has been punched from the outside.

BOULDER CHIPS

There are four oval flakes, made by splitting cobbles or small boulders of hard rock so as to form a blunt handgrip and a sharper curved working edge. This edge shows signs of wear, as if these artifacts had served as scrapers, choppers, or knives. The specimens vary in length from 5.8 to 8.5 cm, and in width from 1.8 to 6 cm. In addition, there are a thin flake split from a basalt cobble which shows signs of wear and a large flake or boulder chip of sandy shale. The latter is 10 by 6 by 2.5 cm., and has a sharp edge, worn from use.

FLAKES AND CORES

From Daxatkanada midden there are nine flakes and cores made from chert pebbles, but only one of these shows signs of use. This is a green chert core, 4 by 3 by 2 cm, the sharp wedgelike end of which is dulled as if it had been used as a chisel or scraper. The other eight fragments are too irregularly shaped to have been serviceable. Since no chipped implements of chert were found it is hard to understand for what purpose these pebbles were broken.

In addition, there are also a small quartz chip and a block of quartz which has been cracked by blows.

A long blade of basalt has sharp edges and a rounded chisellike end, but shows no signs of wear. A basalt core and a massive flake struck from such a core (pl. 6, *l*) came from the deeper levels of the Daxatkanada midden. Both show the effects of heavy blows.

SEA MAMMAL HUNTING WEAPONS

According to our informants, harpoons were used in hunting harbor seals, fur seals, and sea otters, and also for spearing fish. Sea otter are said to have been hunted off Sitka, not near Angoon. This statement can refer only to a relatively recent period, for there were more sea otter bones in the middens at Daxatkanada and Pillsbury Point than bones of any other animal. The natives also told us that they used to eat whales and sea lions, but did not know how to kill them. However, the famous story of "Black-skin" (Swanton, 1909, Tale 32, p. 149) not only involves a sea lion hunt, but the cure of a wounded sea lion by cutting out the barbed harpoon point in its side.

Two types of harpoon head were identified by our informants. The first is a toggle head (dénà) made of two pieces of bone. This was supposed to be the better kind because the harpooned seal could not tear it out. The head apparently fitted directly over the tapered end of the wooden shaft without an intermediate bone foreshaft or socket piece. The second, more common type of head (k‘ᴀt‘) was a barbed point with tang for insertion into the socket or slit in the end of the wooden shaft (adᴀ), not into a bone socket piece. Specimens in recent use were of iron or copper, usually with barbs on both edges.

The harpoon head was fastened to the shaft by means of a sealskin line. According to one informant, this line was attached to the end of the shaft, and even when spearing salmon the whole harpoon was thrown. It was retained in the hand only when spearing trout. According to another man, the line from the head of the seal harpoon was attached to the middle of the shaft, so that the latter would tend to pull crosswise through the water when the seal was struck and the head detached from the shaft, but all informants denied a martingale rig. A running line connected the butt end of the shaft to an inflated seal stomach that served as a buoy. With this harpoon seals might be speared on the rocks, or taken from a canoe in which one man acted as harpooner and a companion as paddler.

Wounded seals were dispatched with a club, or might be hunted on the rocks with a club alone. A hunter, or his companion, might lure them by imitating the movements and noises of a seal. While the use of a sealskin as a disguise was denied by one man, another said that as a boy he had helped his father by acting as a decoy covered with a gunny sack. The club (x̓úṡ) was made of hard wood (g̣ᴀqʷʻ) from the heart of the spruce, and was said to have been 5 to 6 feet long [!?], "because seals are mean."

Sea otter were hunted in the open sea by fleets of canoes, each carrying two to four men, that surrounded the animal. This method is one that was evidently introduced by the Russians and their Aleut and Pacific Eskimo hunters. The sea otter was struck by many arrows. These arrows were said not to have been harpoon arrows, although the heads were detachable. They were declared to be the same kind of arrows as those used for hunting land animals. Surprising though this statement is, it is in part supported by our failure to find any small barbed harpoon heads, such as were used by the Yakutat, Pacific Eskimo, and Aleut for sea otter harpoon arrows. The arrowheads used at Angoon were said to have been marked, and all the hunters that struck the animal received a share (presumably of the sales price). No feathers were used on the arrow shaft; this was an Athabaskan device. The archeological evidence would suggest that at Daxatkanada sea otter were taken with ordinary harpoons like those used for seals.

TOGGLE HARPOON HEADS

Three halves of toggle harpoon heads made in two parts were found. These are of bone, varying length from 5.1 to over (6.5) cm., and in width from 1.1 to 1.5 cm. Just below the point on all three specimens is a small shoulder on the outer rounded surface to hold the lashing which fastened the two halves of the head together, and on the inner flat surface there is a narrow shallow groove for a blade. A stain on one specimen from Daxatkanada (pl. 8, *b*) suggests that the blade was of iron. This head has a sharp spur; the spur on a second specimen from the site is blunt (pl. 8, *c*); that on the third from Pillsbury Point is missing. On all, the inner surface is slightly hollowed toward the butt to form the socket for the fore-end of the harpoon shaft.

BARBED HARPOON HEADS

Detachable barbed heads with tang and line hole were more numerous, being represented by 22 specimens or fragments. These are all large, like those seen in recent use on salmon spears. The only two complete specimens are 11.8 cm. long, and others presumably varied in length between 10 and 13 cm. They are all barbed on one edge with from two to four barbs. The butts are rounded in outline and are narrowed from both surfaces to form wedge-shaped tangs. The line holes on 7 out of the 9 specimens on which they are preserved are cut, being oval, rectangular, or semicircular. On the other two, the line holes were made with a mechanical drill. The hole is almost invariably centered in the middle of the tang. The materials of which these heads are made is whale bone or compact leg bone, probably of the deer.

Two large whale bone specimens from Hood Bay Fort (pl. 8, *k*) and from Daxatkanada (pl. 8, *j*) are similar in style. Both have semicircular line holes, curved on the side toward the barbed edge and straight on the other. On the Hood Bay specimen deeply cut grooves continue the outline of the two barbs upward across the head; on the second a similar groove runs up from the line hole. It probably also had similar decorations associated with the barbs, but the fore-end is missing. A second complete whale bone head from Daxatkanada (pl. 8, *n*) has two barbs and an oval line hole. A fragment of a similar but smaller head was found under a rock in the lowest part of the midden. A whale bone head (pl. 8, *h*) from the same site was broken below one barb and was recut with a new oval line hole above the barb. There were originally at least two barbs.

Two specimens, also from the lower part of the midden, are of animal leg bone and have large rectangular line holes. The first (pl. 8, *m*) is broken across the lowest barb, and is the widest specimen in the collection, being 2.7 cm. in width. The line hole was made by joining two drilled holes. The second (pl. 8, *i*) originally had a narrow oval line hole, but the tang was broken off and a new line hole was then cut opposite the lower of the two barbs. The head is now 8.8 cm. long. A broken specimen from the site which originally had two barbs (pl. 8, *l*) has two drilled holes set rather high up on the tang, near the barbed edge. Perhaps it had been intended to connect them to form a large rectangular hole. Both butt and point, however, have been shattered by blows. The barbs were cut with a sharp tool, probably a metal knife. In addition, there is the butt end of a head with a medial drilled hole.

The remaining specimens lack the butt ends. One (pl. 8, *d*) had at least four barbs that had been cut with a very narrow sharp blade, probably of iron. Another (pl. 8, *g*) is the fore-end of a head with four barbs made from a flat strip of bone, and part of a similar head was found in the midden below the fort at Hood Bay. There are three other broken specimens from Daxatkanada (pl. 8, *e*, *f*), one from Pillsbury Point, and a fragment with two barbs from the beach below the fort at Chaik Bay. There are also 4 barbs broken from such heads, 3 from Daxatkanada, and 1 from Pillsbury Point. A broken barbed point from Daxatkanada was recut as a bone pin.

What appears to have been a fragment of a barbed harpoon head made of wood was found in a large posthole in the subsoil under the Daxatkanada midden.

LAND ANIMAL HUNTING WEAPONS

Deadfalls (yéx̣ or sìn) of various types were used for bear, land otter, mink, and beaver. Some were set across the animal's trail (dè-kʻᴀnᴀ́x̣-yᴀncú "trail-across-to hunt"), and others were baited (yànaqʷʻ-sᴇtʻ "bait-place"). One style of deadfall was the "figure four" trap (t̓ayéx̣, probably referring to t̓a "plank"). Snares (daśᴀ) were used for deer and bear, and boys used small snares to trap gulls and bluejays. Pitfalls were not made, except by children in play.

Deer and bear were hunted with the help of trained dogs. The hunter might, like the warrior, carry a picklike club, or a spear (tsàg̣ᴀ́ł'). The shaft was over 6 feet in length, and the double-edged knifelike blade was about 12 inches long. Bears were also shot with bows and arrows from "nests" (kʻutʻ) or platforms built in trees above their trails.

The most common weapon used in hunting was the bow and arrow (sᴀqs). The bowstring was said to have been made of rawhide cut from a seal's belly and thoroughly stretched, although it is more probable that it was made of sinew. The arrows had a plain unfeathered wooden shaft (tcùnétʻ). The heads (ʟᴀqʻ) were of hard wood or bone, with a tang which was set into the fore-end of the shaft. The end of the shaft bulged to prevent the arrow from penetrating too deeply, so that the shaft would fall to the ground, leaving the head in the wound. These heads are said never to have been barbed, however, but were marked with grooves to indicate ownership. The ordinary arrowhead was 4 inches long, but that used for bear measured 6 inches. There were also practice arrows with large blunt heads (g̣ᴀʟ'). Arrows were carried in a skin quiver (dakedi).

The hunter also carried a whip sling (djux̣̓ʷᴀ), consisting of a wooden handle to which was attached a cord with a knotted end. The dart was called by the same name as the ordinary arrow, and had two notches into either of which the knotted end of the whip could be fitted. The notch nearer the fore-end was used for long-range shots. The detachable point was barbed and had a socket into which the dart shaft fitted. This point was made from a deer joint and was called śàqʻ or "bone." A single feather might be attached to the shaft to make the dart easier to spot. Such darts were used for deer or bear.

A deer call was made of a bunchberry leaf held between the lips or between two hollowed sticks to make a whistle.

The hunter also had a hunting knife or dagger, as described under Knives.

BARBED POINTS

From Pillsbury Point there is one complete slender barbed point with conical tang and seven unilateral barbs, outlined by a pair of bordering grooves (pl. 8, *a*). It was probably an arrowhead, even though our informants denied that they were ever barbed. A small notch in the tang, which resembles the remains of an eighth barb, suggests that the specimen was recut from a longer point. A decorative line down the edge opposite the row of barbs may have been cut with a steel knife. The specimen is 12.7 cm. long and 1.2 by 0.7 cm. in diameter.

Three fragments of points with one, two, and three barbs respectively, but lacking decorative lines, may be parts of barbed arrowheads or barbed harpoon heads. These are all from Daxatkanada.

UNBARBED ARROWHEADS

A flat slender specimen of bone, pointed at both ends, one of which is slightly roughened as if for hafting, may be an arrowhead (pl. 9, *u*). It is 16 cm. long, 1.2 cm. wide, and 0.3 cm. thick. A fragment of a similar object and a broken faceted bone point (pl. 9, *m*) may also be parts of arrowheads. A broken bone rod (pl. 9, *v*) may be an unfinished arrowhead. These are all from Daxatkanada midden. On the flat below the fort at Hood Bay was found a long, slender implement, made of animal leg bone, tapered and flattened as if for hafting, which may have been the tang of an arrowhead.

BONE SPEARS OR DAGGERS

An antler dagger or spear point from Daxatkanada (pl. 9, *r*) is faceted on the outer surface. The broken rear end appears to have been roughened by hacking for attachment to a handle. The specimen is (20.5) cm. long, 2.4 cm. wide, and 1.8 cm. thick.

The butt end of a heavy bone implement (pl. 9, *s*), with scarfed tang and a knob on the convex edge, may be broken from a spear point or pick. It is 2 cm. in diameter and comes from the bottom of the midden. Another butt end of a bone implement (pl. 9, *t*), roughly rectangular in section with a hole cut near one edge, may also be part of a dagger.

FISHING GEAR

Most salmon were, of course, taken in traps (cał). These were boxes made of sticks or pieces of slit wood, set either across a waterfall or placed in the opening of a fence across a stream. The arms of the trap were called cał-djɪni "trap arms-of," the posts to which trap and fence were attached were called x́ʷeł, and a tongue-shaped ramp that forced the salmon to slide back into the trap was called x̣át‘-qeqᴇdjᴧ̀ "salmon-director." Although a variety of models of such traps were described, they were all made so that the water in the floor of the trap was too shallow to permit the fish to swim or jump out.

The funnel-shaped trap (gʌtc or gᴀkʷtc) was said to have been used only by the Chilkat.

Salmon were also trapped by the falling tide above stone weirs (ut̓), built across the mouths of streams. Rows of pointed stakes were also set up in similar localities on which the fish impaled themselves when trying to jump. These stakes were called náx̣ᴀk‘ᴀt‘án (evidently derived from k‘ᴀ "on" and t‘an "jump").

Fish were also taken in nets of spruce or of baleen. The latter are described as from 30 to 40 fathoms long. The baleen from one whale was enough to make 2 or 3 fathoms of net.

Salmon were both harpooned and gaffed. The harpoon was the same as that used for seals. The gaffhook for fish (k̓éx̣̓ᴀ̀) was made of a steamed and bent piece of hard wood (presumably attached to a wooden shaft). Although no bone barbs for gaffs were mentioned, some archeological specimens described below may have had such a function. The only place, however, where salmon were gaffed or speared at night from canoes carrying torches was said to be in Nakwasina Passage near Sitka, the scene of the Salmon Boy story, where the hero's miraculous adventures seemed to confer supernatural sanction on this method of fishing. A gaffhook (t‘ánᴀ) was used for devilfish. Only the Chilkat used a two- or three-pronged leister or fish spear (ʟágwᴀ̀).

Cod, shark, and halibut were taken with hook and line. The hook (q̓ósqasá) for cod was a simple V-shaped hook with straight (?) wooden shank and a barb made of a bone pin. The halibut hook (nᴀ̀x̓ʷ) is much larger, with an alderwood shank carved to represent some mythological personage, animal, or object, from which the hook receives its personal name. These names are said to belong to sibs, yet new designs and names are still being invented. The barb is a stout point of iron, presumably of bone in former times. To the shank where the barb is attached are fastened some pieces of light wood (red cedar, or at present cork) to make the hook float clear of the bottom. The bait is a piece of devilfish (náqʷ‘). Hooks are used in pairs. They are attached to lines formerly made of twisted spruce root or of fine braided skin (sinew?), and were weighted with unshaped stones. Two floats are attached: one (k‘ᴀtsís) is of red cedar carved in the shape of a duck or gull; the second is an inflated seal stomach (tsá yùwù). A club or spear was used to kill large fish when hooked.

Salmon and small fish when caught were strung on a line by means of an eyed needle made of hard wood, a little over a foot long. The name given for this needle was simply that for heartwood.

Herring were and still are caught with a fish rake (xíłᴀ̀). This is an oar-shaped implement about 15 feet or more long, at present armed along one edge of the blade with about 40 teeth made from nails. In earlier times these teeth were of copper or bone.

DOUBLE-POINTED BONE PINS

There are 17 pins from Daxatkanada midden, made of hard animal or bird bone, and pointed at both ends (pl. 9, *a* to *g*). They range in length from 3.5 to 8.4 cm., with the majority about 5 or 6 cm. long, and 0.5 cm. in diameter. One end, presumably the butt, is more abruptly tapered than the other, but both are sharp. They could have been used as barbs for cod hooks or halibut hooks, and the larger ones may have been gorges or the teeth for herring rakes. However, all sharp pins or splinters of bone were identified by our informants as awls.

In addition to the 17 complete specimens, there are 7 points which appear to have been broken from similar pins. Of these, 2 are from Pillsbury Point.

BIRD-BONE POINTS

There are nine pointed splinters of bird bone, made of sawed strips or simply of broken pieces, unworked except at the points. These are probably barbs for fishhooks. Since the butt ends are not shaped it is impossible to tell whether or not these specimens are broken. Some are over 6 cm. long. Eight are from Daxatkanada (pl. 9, *i*), and one fron Pillsbury Point (pl. 9, *j*). In addition, a bird-bone point, 4.3 by 0.6 cm., with three small barbs on one edge (pl. 9, *h*) may also be part of a fishhook. Two thin strips of bird bone may have been broken from bird-bone points.

BARBS FOR GAFF HOOKS

Four points of hard bone, apparently bear penis bone, seem to be barbs for gaff hooks. The butts of three are thinned or pointed; that of the fourth is squared off. Presumably they were inserted into holes in a wooden handle. They are from 7.7 to over 9 cm. long (pl. 9, *l*).

A piece of animal rib, 6 cm. long, with thinned butt and pointed end, may also be a barb for a hook or gaff (pl. 9, *k*).

MISCELLANEOUS BONE POINTS

Three pins made of flat strips or splinters of bone, sharp at one end and blunt at the other, may be either barbs or awls. They vary in length from 6 to 8.4 cm. In addition, there is also the butt of what was probably a similar pin, and a broken barbed harpoon head that was recut as a pin. A point made of a sharpened splinter of bone was found in a deposit of fish bones and may be part of a fishhook.

BONE TOOLS

AWLS AND DRILLS

Before steel needles were obtained, bone awls (qʻénƛ or tʻax̣́ʌłʼ) were used for sewing.

For making holes in wood a hand drill with a bone bit was used. The butt was flattened off at the end and set into a round stick. The drill was rotated between the palms of the hands.

We found only four specimens which could be identified as awls or drills. One awl is made of an unsplit bird bone, another is an animal ulna, and a third, from Pillsbury Point, is made of an unsplit animal leg bone. The fourth is a fragment of a bone drill or awl with a detached conical point. In addition, 5 broken bone points may be fragments of awls.

Two slender bone pins, only 0.3 cm. in diameter, and very carefully polished, may be parts of awls or bodkins. They are (6) and (7.3) cm. long (pl. 9 *w*, *x*).

BEAVER-TOOTH CHISELS

There are three chisels made of beaver incisors which would have served admirably for cutting holes or slots. Two are from Daxatkanada (pl. 9, *o*, *p*), the third from Pillsbury Point (pl. 9, *q*).

WORKED BONE

Bone was apparently worked by splitting, sawing, chipping, and cutting, and bone artifacts were finished by grinding. Five pieces of bone from Daxatkanada midden have cuts suggestive of a steel knife; three others have broad, dull cuts suggesting the use of stone tools. These apparently come from all levels of the midden.

Not only were finished articles of whale bone found, but there are fragments of worked whale or sea lion bone, 16 from Daxatkanada and 1 from Pillsbury Point. These are relatively small slabs and rod-shaped pieces. No large bones of whales, either worked or unworked, were represented. There is, in addition, a small wedge-shaped piece of whale bone, with battered butt, (3) by 1.2 by 0.4 cm., which resembles the small wedges which we use to tighten the handle in an ax head. It comes from Daxatkanada, but its function is unknown.

Eighteen animal leg bones, chiefly deer metapodials, have been sawed into strips. These are all from Daxatkanada, except for one from Pillsbury Point and another from Sullivan Point.

Thirteen other fragments of animal bone showing sawing and cutting are from Daxatkanada, and four from Pillsbury Point.

Two rather oval slabs of cut animal leg bone from Daxatkanada look like blanks from which small barbed harpoon heads were to have been cut.

A fragment of animal leg bone, probably split for the marrow, shows fine scratches or knife marks.

There are also a few pieces of cut bird bone. Two are the articulations cut from the ends of large bones, probably in making tubes or beads, a third is a fragment of a bird-bone tube with scratches. Three pieces cut from bird breast bones appear to have been much handled. One has a dull worn edge, another has a slot cut at one end, and the third is pointed. There are also four strips of bird bone, one of which was found at Pillsbury Point, which are possibly fragments of bird-bone points.

ORNAMENTS

It is impossible to make a sharp distinction between ornaments and amulets, since the same object, in certain cases, may serve both a decorative and a magical or religious function. Archeological specimens which might fall into either class comprise pendants, beads, labrets, nose pins, bone carvings, stone inlays, copper objects, scratching stones (?), and incised tablets. Some ethnological information was obtained about these.

Tooth pendants were sometimes worn on a cord around the neck and were used as scratchers. A bear tooth might be "fixed" (made into a pendant? charmed?) by a shaman, and when worn around the neck was considered good medicine to ward off sickness. Other amulets supplied by doctors were made of stone. Tooth pendants were also worn by men and women as ear ornaments. High-class people might have three holes in the helix and a fourth in the lobe of the ear. The holes were sometimes made with porcupine quills. Men wore sea otter teeth, mounted in silver, as earrings. Earrings were called guk^{wʿ}-ʼᴀtʿ or guk^{wʿ}-kʿadjac.

It was suggested that the beads (kàwút) made of small bird bones, the small stone beads, and the tooth pendants might have come from a shaman's necklace. One informant, however, suggested that the small stone beads had been worn by a high-class woman.

We found no dentalia (tʿᴀ́ẋx̣è), but were told that they were worn around the neck, or ornamented clothing on the shoulders, body, and legs. The same word was also given for a white "stone" (?), found in the water and used to inlay dishes and boxes (opercula ?).

High-class people also used to wear nose ornaments (ł̀ùnᴀ́s) at dances.

The labrets which we found aroused the most interest. Such ornaments were worn only by aristocratic women. The hole, like that for the nose ornament, was made with a bear claw, and the first small labret was probably inserted just after the girl emerged from her puberty confinement (although this could not be verified). As the hole was stretched, larger labrets were inserted. Our informants had seen or heard only of bone or wooden labrets, and believed that our stone specimens must have been worn by very high-class, elderly women "who had proved themselves." The reason for wearing labrets was asserted to be to prevent the women from gossiping, since women caused wars through idle talk about matters which were not their business. The labret was both a sign of wisdom and a reminder to keep quiet. The labret was called x̣̓ent̓ax̣̓a (from x̣̓a "mouth") and q̓anux̣ (possibly x̣̓a-nux̓ "mouth-shell"?). The larger labret was x̣̓agaqʷ or x̣̓akaqʷ (possibly x̣̓a-qᴀkʷ "mouth-wide"?), and some might be 2 inches long.

PENDANTS

There are four pendants made of animal teeth. Three of these, including one from Pillsbury Point, seem to be sea otter canines, grooved around the roots for suspension (pl. 10, *a*, *b*, *c*). The fourth is a sea lion tooth with a drilled hole at the root (pl. 10, *d*).

There is also a sea otter molar on which the roots have been ground down (pl. 10, *m*). It may also have been an ornament, although we do not know how it was worn.

The left half of the mandible of a young bear, with an incompletely erupted canine, has a drilled hole at the base of the ramus (pl. 10, *hh*). It may have been an amulet, worn as a pendant.

A well-made pendant of ivory, probably obtained from a tooth, is 3.1 cm. long and 1.2 cm. in diameter (pl. 10, *f*). For suspension there is a fine groove about a tiny knob at one end. The pendant is flattened on four sides, each of which bears a double row of drilled pits. There are 10 pits on three sides, and 9 (evidently an error) on the fourth. Some of these still contain traces of red paint. One pit is surrounded by a faint but mechanically perfect circle, indicating that the implement used to make the decoration had two prongs, probably of metal, and suggesting that the compass-drawn dot-and-circle, here produced by accident, was employed as a decorative element in other designs. The specimen comes from the bottom of the Daxatkanada midden.

Two thin, slightly curved strips of bone may have been used as ornaments. One has a small drilled hole at one end and a medial line down one side, and may have been a pendant. It is 4.8 cm. long and 0.8 cm. wide (pl. 10, *j*). The other is broken at one end and notched at the other (pl. 10, *i*).

A rectangular pendant, 7 by 1.7 cm., is made from a section of a large barnacle, and is notched at the narrower end for suspension (pl. 10, *e*).

There is, lastly, a small pendant of tan shale, now represented only by a fragment. There was a drilled hole at one rounded end; the other is missing. Incised lines on one side make a checkerboard pattern.

BEADS

A bead (pl. 10, *n*), measuring 1.4 by 1.2 cm., has been made from the central part of a large tooth, probably a bear canine, from which the tip and root have been cut, leaving the nerve canal to serve as a hole for stringing. The tip broken from a bear canine (pl. 10, *g*) and the root sawed from a similar tooth (pl. 10, *h*) illustrate the process of manufacture.

There are two complete and one broken disk-shaped beads made of tan shale (pl. 10, *o*, *p*, *q*). These vary from 1 to 1.5 cm. in diameter and have asymmetrically drilled holes. Three broken specimens, 3 to 3.3 cm. in diameter, are not only much larger but much cruder, and may have been amulets rather than ornaments. Two are of yellow sandstone or sandy shale (pl. 10, *cc*), and the third is of limestone (pl. 10, *dd*). A roughly shaped disk of white marble (pl. 10, *ee*), chipped from both sides, has a shallow drilled pit on one surface and is probably an unfinished bead or amulet like the last specimen. It is 4 cm. in diameter and 1.4 cm. thick. It was tentatively identified by our informants as a scratching stone used by adolescent girls.

There are a few bird-bone tubes that were probably used as beads. The most carefully polished specimen is only 0.9 cm. long and comes from the bottom of the midden at Pillsbury Point (pl. 10, *t*). Three other specimens, 3.8 to 4.1 cm. long (pl. 10, *v*, *w*, *x*), and two fragments of what may have been similar beads, came from Daxatkanada.

There is a highly polished tubular bead of jet (pl. 10, *u*), 1.5 cm. long and 0.7 cm. in diameter, with a hole evenly drilled from one end. One has the impression that the drill must have been of metal. A lump of cannel coal showing grinding was found in the Daxatkanada midden, and an unworked lump of the same material was picked up on the beach opposite Sullivan Point near the waterfall which supplied drinking water for that settlment. The material was probably derived from the soft-coal beds at Sullivan Point.

LABRETS

There are three labrets, all, as was to be expected, of the "medial" type to be worn below the middle of the lower lip. The first (pl. 10, *bb*) from Daxatkanada, is of light-green soapstone or badly weathered steatite, concave on both surfaces, the outer face being especially dish shaped. It is oval in outline with a deep groove around the edge, and measures 3.6 by 3 cm. in diameter and 1.1 cm. in thickness. The second (pl. 10, *z*) is also an oval labret of greenish steatite. The outer surface is flat, and is both shorter and broader than the inner flange. The maximum measurements are 2.8 by 1.9 cm. in diameter, and 2.1 cm. in thickness. The third (pl. 10, *aa*), from the bottom of the midden on top of the Hood Bay fort, is a circular labret made of shale, baked dark red after carving. The outer stud is cone shaped, and rises to a small point 2 cm. high. There is a rather wide but shallow groove around the edge, and the inner surface is flat.

From Daxatkanada, an oval-rectangular piece of shale, 4.5 by 2.1 cm., may possibly be an unfinished labret. The edges and both surfaces have been whittled smooth, and on one side a small depression has been gouged out.

NOSE PIN (?)

A broken bone pin (pl. 10, *k*) with a T-shaped end may possibly have been an ornament worn in the nose. There is a shallow groove at the base of the cross bar, as if something had once been attached here. The specimen is now (3.6) cm. long and 1 cm. wide at the end.

STONE DISKS

Two disks made of micaceous slatey schist may have been used as ornamental inserts, perhaps as eyes in wood carvings. One (pl. 10, *r*) is roughly chipped out and is 1.8 cm. in diameter; the other (pl. 10, *s*) is half of a more carefully made specimen with ground surfaces and edges, and originally measured 3.5 cm. in diameter.

A tiny chip of bright-blue talc was probably also part of an ornament or inlay.

BONE CARVING

A broken piece of what appears to be the flipper bone of a large sea mammal (sea lion?) bears broad, shallow grooves, evidently part of a flowing curvilinear design (pl. 10, *y*). Too little of the specimen remains for the decoration to be deciphered, although it would appear to be in ordinary Northwest Coast style.

AMULETS

INCISED TABLETS

From Daxatkanada there are a number of roughly shaped slabs or pebbles bearing very crudely incised designs on one or both faces. The lines are so fine that it is only with the greatest difficulty that the patterns can be seen, and I am indebted to Laura Knipe, formerly an undergraduate at Bryn Mawr College, for sketches of these specimens. The designs are hardly more than scribbles composed chiefly of straight lines and do not suggest in any way the classic Northwest Coast art style.

Our informants identified them tentatively as scratching stones used by adolescent girls. A middle-aged woman reported that she had once seen such a stone with a picture of a bear on it. It was tied with a string so that it could be hung from the girl's neck. She gave the name for such a stone as ctáyuduwatígi t‘ᴇ́ (probably cdayuᴡᴜduᴡᴀt‘iỵɪ t‘ᴇ "stone for scratching one's self"?). It will be remembered that pieces of pumice were used as rubbing amulets, presumably by others than adolescent girls. Stone amulets were said to have been made by doctors. The pitted marble disk (pl. 10, *ee*) was identified as "medicine" for rubbing the arms and legs, and was called dàx̓ᴀ́ṡà (from da "surface", and x̓ᴀṡ "to scrape"). A smooth grooved pebble, described below, was said to have been used to scratch any itchy place on the body and to rub across the lips. While we were unable to obtain any further information at Angoon, the Tlingit at Yakutat reported that such pebbles were used by adolescent girls, widows, and peace hostages to scratch themselves, since it was taboo to use the fingers. They also rubbed their lips with such stones as ritual insurance against uttering words that might lead to war.[23] Some of these stones were pierced for suspension, as were the stone amulets given by some shamans to their patients. We cannot, however, be certain of the function of any of the grooved, pitted, pierced, or incised stone specimens.

Among the incised stone specimens, we have already mentioned a slate chisellike blade (fig. 15, *f*) which has faint transverse lines in pairs across one surface. Other longitudinal scratches and pits are probably the result of use. We also mentioned a broken sandstone rubbing tool (fig. 15, *a*) from the top of Daxatkanada Island, on which were gouges and scratches suggestive of a face. Two pairs of curved lines and the end indicate brows; two straight transverse lines seem to represent the closed eyes; vertical lines below these outline a broad nose and suggest face painting. Faint gouges appear to indicate the lip below the nose. The third incised stone specimen already described was a small shale pendant with a checkerboard design. Of these three, the design on the rubbing tool is most similar to the patterns incised on the four stone tablets described below.

The first of these tablets (fig. 15, *d*) is oval-rectangular in outline, measuring 10 by 3.3 cm, and has been roughly chipped from a slab of green micaceous schist. It resembles the poorly shaped oval implements described as unfinished rubbing tools or scrapers. On the smoother surface is a lightly incised design that extends from the narrower end over two-thirds of the length of the slab. It consists of two rectangular panels, outlined by single lines. One is filled

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[23] Drucker, 1950, Trait p. 1141, 276, reports that the Chilkat rubbed a pebble around the girl's mouth four times daily so that she would not become talkative.

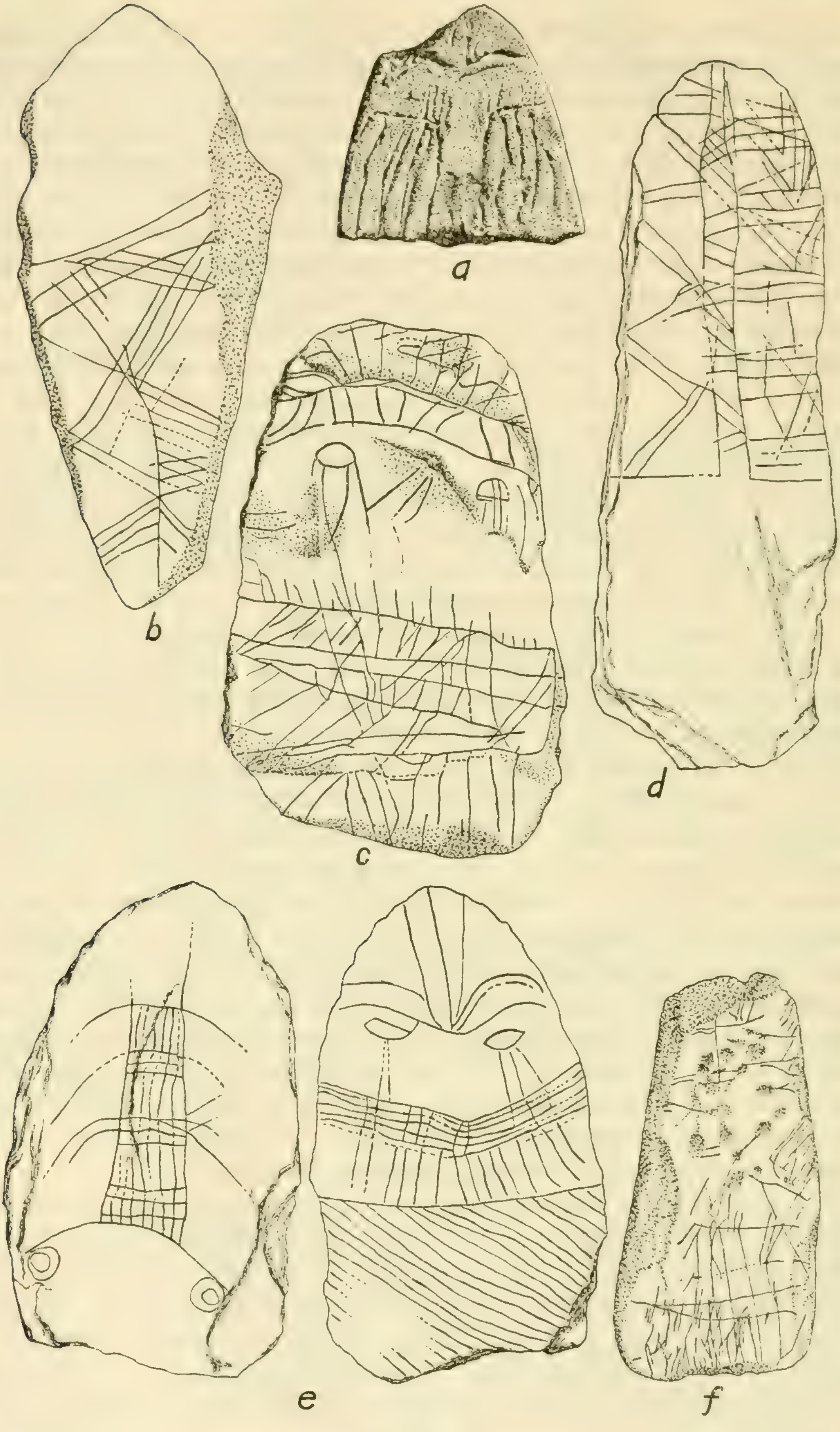

FIGURE 15.
(For legend, see opposite page.)

with double longitudinal zigzag lines. The other panel is crossed by bands of three or four transverse lines and irregularly scattered pairs of chevrons (V-shaped lines). The narrow central band between the panels is filled with pairs of zigzags.

A flat shale slab or pebble (fig. 15, *b*), 8.1 by 3.5 cm., also has an incised design which covers about two-thirds of its length. This design consists of double zigzags which run down the middle of the stone and cross it from edge to edge. There is also a medial longitudinal line, from the ends of which diverge sets of long oblique spurs in groups of three and four. These two elements are superimposed without producing a coherent integrated pattern.

The third tablet (fig. 15, *c*) is an oval slab split from a pebble of brown shale or claystone, measuring 7 by 4.8 cm. The design covers one surface and suggests a highly conventionalized face. Across the top is a transverse band of zigzags between bordering lines, above which rise spreading spurs, suggestive of a brow band and a feather crown. Below this are two oval figures from which lines run down, suggesting a pair of weeping eyes. Some irregular scratches may represent the nose. Across the bottom half of the slab are a series of transverse lines, crossed by longitudinal spurs and paired zigzags or chevrons, the whole faintly suggestive of a mouth or of clothing.

The last specimen (fig. 15, *e*) is an oval slab roughly chipped from a piece of thin green micaceous schist. There are faintly incised designs on both surfaces. On one side there is a face with oval weeping eyes, curved brows, hair with a central part (?), a mouth, and a series of diagonal scratches which may represent clothing or fur. On the other side is a longitudinal band down the middle, crossed by curved lines in groups, the whole suggestive of a stylized backbone with ribs, or possibly a girl's decorated braid. The slab measures 7.3 by 5 cm.

We should probably include in this group a waterworn slate tablet rectangular in shape, which was found in beach gravel, 6 inches below the "floor" of a small hut at the abandoned settlement on Killisnoo Harbor. There are a series of fine notches along one of the longer edges and there may have been similar notches on the other. The stone is, however, very badly waterworn and any other notches or possible incising are no longer visible.

FIGURE 15.—Incised stone tablets from Daxatkanada Island. Drawn by Laura Knipe. *a*, Broken sandstone rubbing tool, top of island (49–25–19); *b*, shale pebble, FIE 12–18 inches (No. 309); *c*, shale or claystone tablet, C3E 12 inches (No. 77); *d*, green micaceous schist tablet, B3E 3 inches (No. 9); *e*, obverse and reverse of green micaceous schist tablet, O–T 6–12 inches (No. 320); *f*, slate chisellike blade, A3E 3 inches (No. 8). Slightly less than natural size.

RUBBING STONE

A roughly egg-shaped pebble with a natural groove around it, somewhat enlarged by pecking, was found in the Daxatkanada midden. It shows polish from use or handling. One of the older women suggested that it may have been a rubbing stone used by an adolescent girl or widow.

DRINKING TUBE (?)

A broken bird-bone tube (pl. 9, *y*) originally over 9.5 cm., may have been a drinking tube. Our informants denied that adolescent girls had to drink through a tube, but their reluctance to talk about such matters leaves the question rather open.

OBJECTS OF FOREIGN PROVENIENCE

COPPER

Two objects of copper were found at archeological sites in the Angoon area. While native copper, obtained primarily from the Copper River region through trade with the Yakutat and Eyak, was available to the Tlingit in prehistoric times, it would be impossible to determine the source of these two small pieces without subjecting them to chemical analysis.

The first is a conical tinkler (pl. 10, *l*), 1.2 cm. long, made by winding a scrap of copper around a thong. It comes from the Daxatkanada midden.

A fragment of a wooden object, 2.3 cm. wide, flat on one side and faceted on the other, has been wound about by a strip of copper. This bears the faint impression of a stamped design suggestive of a bird's head and eye. It was found 24 inches below the surface of the midden which spills down the north side of the Ģanaẋ Women's Fort at Angoon.

IRON

We have already noted some objects which appear to have been shaped or cut with iron or steel tools. The total list is a half of a toggle harpoon head (pl. 8, *b*), two barbed heads with tang (pl. 8, *d*, *l*), a jet bead (pl. 10, *u*), an ivory pendant (pl. 10, *f*) four cut bones, and a wooden post (pl. 4, *c*). These came from all levels of the Daxatkanada midden. In addition, there is a barbed arrowhead from the upper part of the midden at Pillsbury Point (pl. 8, *a*).

From Daxatkanada midden there is a small chisellike piece of wrought iron (pl. 10, *gg*), which might have been shaped by hammering flat a large spike. It is 6.5 cm. long and 2.3 cm. wide.

Before the Tlingit were in contact with white traders, perhaps before Bering's discovery of Alaska, the natives apparently obtained iron from driftwood, and worked it, according to tradition, like native copper by heating and pounding. Such drift iron was called g̱ayEś, and the presence of some iron, or of sharp knife cuts on archeological objects, does not constitute proof of trade relationships with the whites.

TRADE GOODS

Two other objects from Daxatkanada midden indicate, however, trade contacts. One of these is a piece of a green glass bottle, and the other is a brass thimble (pl. 10, *ff*). The latter has a tiny hole at the end, evidently made from the inside (by a nail ?). The interior is filled with carbonized incrustation (glue or pitch), and the thimble was probably used as an ornamental ferule, perhaps on the end of a cane, rather than as an aid in sewing. It was found well down in the midden deposit and serves, therefore, to date the site as early historic.

In one of the recent cache pits behind the abandoned houses at Whitewater Bay were found a fragment of a hollow iron cannonball, probably like those used to shell Angoon in 1882, and a faceted blue glass bead of the type sold by the Hudson's Bay Company during the last century.

CONCLUSIONS

Among the most interesting discoveries to be noted is the evidence that the Tlingit baked clay or claystone for paint and that the children modeled clay into toy dishes. They seem occasionally to have achieved a baked-clay object by accident, although we should hesitate to call this pottery making, even though Jones, as quoted above, credited the Tlingit of former times with this art. To what extent they may have used clay is a problem for further research.

It is also interesting that our informants were unable to identify or even sometimes to recognize as artificially shaped the objects which we have called "rubbing tools," even though these were the most common type of artifact at Daxatkanada. I do not know of any similar objects in museum collections, but this may be because their crudeness has failed to attract the notice of collectors. They resemble small chisellike or adzlike tools from Yakutat and Prince William Sound in shape (de Laguna, 1956, pp. 121–124) but are unlike these in that they were evidently used to abrade, whereas the Yakutat and Chugach slate tools were used to cut and gouge.

Of greater interest are the incised stone plaques. While some small slate objects, with suspension holes and designs incised in more traditional Northwest Coast style, may be found in museums, we have never seen any other Tlingit specimens quite like these simple rough tablets with their fine peculiar ornamentation, except for one late prehistoric specimen from Yakutat. The nearest analogies are similarly roughly shaped slate plaques from the older deposits in Prince William Sound (de Laguna, 1956, figs. 25–32, pp. 201–204). While the latter bear geometric designs and other incisings suggesting faces, these faces are not like the Tlingit examples with weeping eyes, but are more akin to the Y-shaped nose-and-brows seen on specimens from rather late Kodiak sites (Heizer, 1947, fig. 6; 1952, p. 266, fig. 90). Unfortunately, no incised plaques were found in the stratified sites of Kachemak Bay, which might have helped to establish their age. If they occurred here, we failed to notice them. While there is no doubt that the incised pebbles and tablets of Kodiak, Prince William Sound, Yakutat, and Angoon belong to a common tradition, each group exhibits its own peculiarities of style, just as do the rock carvings and rock paintings which also link these regions. The incised tablets were presumably amulets, although we will probably never know just how they were used.

HISTORY OF ANGOON

INTRODUCTION

The history of Angoon and its people seems to fall into several "periods," represented by different types of traditions or documentations. The white man would logically divide it into at least three temporal eras: (1) *prehistoric*, or prior to contact with Europeans in the 18th century, and lacking written records; (2) *early historic*, beginning perhaps with the discovery of Alaska in 1741, or with the first venture into Angoon territory by a European; this would be covered, especially in the later decades of the 18th century, by an increasing number of reports by explorers, traders, and the Russian-American Company; (3) *recent historic*, a well-documented period, beginning with the purchase of Alaska by the United States in 1867 and running into the present. For the native of Angoon the divisions are not quite the same, especially since the prehistoric and early historic periods could hardly be distinguished by a people whose contacts over many years with Europeans were only brief and intermittent. It was not, in fact, until 10 years after the purchase of Alaska by the United States that close association with the white man began. Then came the founding of the station at Killisnoo and the Presbyterian Mission school at Sitka which many Angoon children attended. Thus it is only within the memory of the old people that native history and white history really run side by side. Prior to this, some episodes in native tradition can be equated with events described in written documents, but others cannot. Often temporal clues are lacking, because the modern storyteller does not know, for example, whether firearms were used in the battles he describes.

The native traditions would seem to fall into four "periods:" (1) a *mythical* group, dealing with the Flood, and with the adventures of Raven and of other beings that gave the world its present form; (2) a *legendary* group, overlapping in part with the former, in spirit if not in time, and telling how the present sibs had their origins, obtained their crests, and migrated to their present territories; (3) a *more clearly historical* set of stories, dealing largely with clashes between sibs, and including episodes that can be assigned to the days of the early explorers and Russians, or to the early American penetration of the territory; some origins of recent sibs occurred during this period; (4) and, lastly, *modern* stories of events that occurred within the lifetime of the narrator or of his older relatives who witnessed the events and told the present narrator about them.

Because of the fact that the material dealt with in this chapter is drawn from native tradition, historical sources, and native statements of recent or contemporary events, our organization of Angoon history must be a compromise between the white historian's chronological scheme, and the less explicit distinctions which can be discovered in the character of the natives' oral accounts.

Since Garfield has published in 1947 an admirable summary of Angoon sib traditions, recorded in 1945, we shall rely upon this to a large extent, amplifying it with stories told by our own informants and by relevant material gathered by Swanton in 1904 at Sitka and Wrangell and published in 1909.

As has already been pointed out, much of the traditional native history of Angoon consists of the distinct histories of separate sibs and lineages, and some discrepancies cannot be resolved. And, as Garfield (1947, p. 452) has made clear, "It is impossible to reconcile the Deluge tale with even the legendary history of the house groups and clans," although presumably most of the last type of story would be assigned to a period following the Flood and the episodes recounted in the Raven myth, if the natives were pressed to attempt such a chronological arrangement. Some of the natives are evidently puzzled by inconsistencies in the stories and try to fit them together or explain them logically. Dr. Garfield has told me that she felt that the Tlingit were actually in process of organizing the Raven stories into a great mythological framework. However, we were unable to find confirmation for this interesting suggestion, since we obtained only admittedly scattered and abbreviated versions of the myths associated with Raven and other supernatural characters. It is interesting that Swanton's informant at Wrangell, Katishan, chief of the Kasq!ague′dî, succeeded in interweaving most of the sacred myths of a number of sibs into the framework of the Raven cycle, even though he achieved no clear chronological progression from one episode to the next, and the scheme upon which he achieved this interweaving is not apparent (Swanton, 1909, Tale 31).

One informant told us that he knew an old man who had a complete history of the Tlingit "right back to the Ice Age" recorded on a skin. This skin was exhibited (presumably at potlatches or other ceremonial occasions) to "prove the history." The old man knew about Glacier Bay "when it was just a sandy beach." Our informant said that he had been told only a "short-cut version" of this history. Although it is doubtful that this "history" is actually a comprehensive or chronologically developed summary of the traditions of all Tlingit groups, our informant evidently regarded it as such, and this may be interpreted as evidence of genuine historical interest. Many educated natives believe that the sib traditions can actually be fitted together as a true history. To judge by what a well-educated man from Klawak told me, the Flood must be imagined as having occurred "before the Ice Age," or at least before the glaciers retreated, since many groups are said to have migrated down the rivers to the coast right after the Flood, when they had to pass under glaciers that have since melted.

THE FLOOD

It may be said that Tlingit traditional history begins with the Flood. A version of this was told us by one old man, a devoted member of the Salvation Army, who called it "The Story of Creation." It is essentially the same as the Tlingit versions discussed by Boas (1916, pp. 621–625), although some details are of sufficient interest to warrant a brief summary.

"THE STORY OF CREATION"

The first man in the world, Qɪsxx̣óx̣ [probably Qɪś-x̣ùx̣ʷ, "Flood-Call(er)"] (not Raven-at-the-head-of-Nass-River, Nas-cᴀᴋɪ-yeł, as this character is usually called) was so jealous of his beautiful wife that he killed all his sister's baby boys. [A nephew in the old days had access to his uncle's wife.] Finally a Crane gave the grieving mother a hot stone to swallow which resulted in the birth of an invulnerable son, who grew with miraculous rapidity to manhood. After the uncle had in vain tried to kill him in various ways, he discovered the young man sleeping with his aunt, and in a rage called up the Tide to drown them. The youth clothed his mother and his uncle's wife in the skins of ducks, so that they escaped by swimming. He donned the skin of a snipe, flew to the sky and suspended himself above the Flood by sticking his bill into the underside of the sky. Finally, as the Flood subsided, he fell down into some floating kelp. There was nothing but water then, no land anywhere. But he met two sea otters and induced them to dive for sand at the bottom of the sea, and from this created the land. On it he created the trees. The world then was dark, without sun, moon, or stars. He became born as a child to the daughter of the chief who kept these luminaries in his house. By crying, he obtained each of them in turn, and threw the stars and moon into the sky. When escaping through the smokehole with the box containing the sun (daylight), he was trapped for a time, and so became blackened by soot.

"He was our God, and He created the world. We call him Yeł." (The informant became indignant when we pointed out that this was the word for raven. He went on to point out that the Flood was the same as the one in the Bible).

According to other informants, there must have been other people living in the world at this time. Thus:

THE FLOOD

> There was a Flood, when all the people had to go to the tops of the mountains. They built walls of rocks around the tops, like nests. Some people had dogs. The bears came up after them. Those that didn't have dogs to chase the bears were all killed, but those that had dogs were saved.
>
> I have been on top of one of the mountains, above Chaik Bay. I saw the rope there at the top, all turned to ashes. Another mountain where the people went is the high one across the Inlet, below Tenakee. You can see it from Angoon (over Graveyard Point). People went to the tops of the mountains—all the high ones—in the Flood. All the high mountains have nests.

Other refuge mountains are south of Hood Bay and the peak known as Table Mountain south of Whitewater Bay. It is a general belief that to touch the nests or the old ropes on these peaks or even to point at them from the old village sites causes bad weather.

Swanton's version from Wrangell is rather similar to our "Story of Creation" except that it adds the notion that people escaped the Flood by climbing the mountains (Swanton, 1909, Tale 31, pp. 119–121). According to a Sitka story, it was Raven himself who wanted the Flood. He got the woman who controls the tides to raise the water so that he could go under the ocean. This caused the Flood, which rose so slowly that the people were able to get into their canoes and float up to the tops of the mountains. Bears and other wild animals took refuge there also, but the people who had dogs with them were protected. Some people built stone walls around the peaks and tied their canoes inside. Sometimes now hunters see these stones and then it becomes foggy (Swanton, 1909, Tale 1, p. 16).

THE FOUNDING OF ANGOON

It is, of course, useless to ask how soon after the Flood Angoon was founded, or even whether the Angoon area was first inhabited before or after the Flood, because when we come to the story of Angoon we pass into another dimension of time.

The G̣anax̣adi were the original Ravens in the Angoon area, with settlements at Whitewater Bay, Angoon, and Sitkoh Bay, but no large village. According to tradition,[24] they had come originally from the south, from Prince of Wales and Kuiu Islands, and were the first people to settle at Tongas. Our informant explained that they obtained their name when they were staying at a lake near Ketchikan. A chief stood up and said: "From now on we will be the people of G̣anᴀx̣" which was the name of the lake. Before that, they were called Ľɪnedi.

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[24] Garfield, 1947, pp. 440 f.; Swanton 1908, p. 408. The latter reports that they derive their name from an island, G̣ā'nax.

Allied with the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi at Angoon were the Decitan, now the most important Raven group in the area. We obtained no story about the origin of the Decitan, save that they had lived at a number of small settlements near Angoon, before they followed the beaver to Angoon Isthmus, and obtained permission from the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi to live there. One informant further specified that they had lived at Whitewater Bay before Angoon was founded (before they moved to Angoon?). The stories of the founding of Angoon refer specifically to the settling there of the Decitan, who, in fact, derive their name from decu hɪt, "End of the (Beaver) Trail House." Our versions of this story are in essential agreement with that obtained by Garfield (1947, p. 439). The latter's informants, however, specified further that the Decitan were descended from the Ľɪnedi (t'łᴇné.dɪ), also known as the "Dog Salmon People," who had come down the Stikine River from the interior, passing under a glacier. They settled first at Eliza Harbor on the southern end of Admiralty Island, then moved to Tyee, where they absorbed the local "Kelp People" (Gɪcqʷé.dɪ), and then came to Chaⁱk Bay. Finally the main body moved to Kootznahoo Inlet, while one small group settled at Basket Bay. We did not hear any part of this migration story, and, indeed, one of our informants derived the Ľɪnedi from the Decitan, rather than vice versa (see origin of the 'Anx̣akhɪtan).

VERSION 1

There were several places where the people lived before coming to Angoon. The first place of all the people settled at was ketɪntci-'an, the big sand beach opposite Killisnoo Island. They lived there for years and years. The southeast swells hit it pretty hard, so they moved; it was hard to keep canoes on the beach. They were all living there, the Decitan and the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi.

Then they moved to yᴀx̣tᴀduwudᴀ, Turn Point, and stayed there for years and years. But there was too much tidal current there. So they moved to qɪx̣ᴀtu-'án, Charlie Anderson's place on Stillwater Anchorage. Then they moved to cᴀtx̣íwᴜstɪn-'án, Sullivan Point. After they moved from there to Angoon they called it takʷanɪcu, "Winter Village."

There was one old man that had three nephews. They went out in a canoe, looking for something to eat. They saw a beaver swimming in the Inlet and followed it. It landed here [on the east side of Angoon Isthmus] and went across to the other side [where the walk now goes to the ANB Hall]. There were lots of trees here then. They followed the beaver across and when they came to the beach, he was swimming in salt water [Chatham Strait].

The old man followed them, looked around, and liked this place. He said: "We're going to move here, build our village here." So they got all their families and moved over.

There were two men who built the village. They could make planks out of trees with wedges—planks 3 or 4 feet wide—great big ones. The men were Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi.

VERSION 2

There were no trees on the point below Angoon, when the people came from Killisnoo. [It is usually at this point that the bears are mentioned, from which the name of the peninsula and of Admiralty Island is derived—see p. 25.] The village was on the inside of Killisnoo, above the cannery, and was called ketɪntci-'an, named for the pounding surf. People couldn't sleep there, so they decided to move. They saw a beaver going across a trail (at Angoon Isthmus). The chief of ketɪntci-'an said: "Nobody kill that beaver." So they came to Angoon. The vilage at Killisnoo belonged to all the tribes: Decitan, Teqʷedi, Wᴜckitan.

When the people came to Angoon, the chief of the Decitan took the name łangucu, referring to the "homeless" Raven that flies around everywhere. This was because they couldn't make up their mind to stay at any one place (before?).

VERSION 3

People were then living at qɪx̣̓ᴀtu-'an, Charlie Anderson's place on Stillwater Anchorage. There were lots of people. Three men were hunting a beaver. They see it going. They paddled after it. They hit the beaver. It came on the beach. They followed the beaver, watched where it went. It went across the isthmus, where the boardwalk is now, to the Chatham Strait side. The men went there. They went back to qɪx̣̓ᴀtu-'an and told the chief they liked that place. I have lost the name of the three men.

The chief was Kax̣gᴜcģɪtx̣. He came here and liked the place. He said it was a good place. There were Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi living where the school is now. The new people asked permission to live here. So they came here. The Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi chief was Ániałahac.

After a trouble, the Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi went to that place down south, Ketchikan.

SPLIT BETWEEN THE ĢANAX̣ADI AND THE DECITAN

At Angoon the Decitan apparently formed a subservient and low-class subdivision of the Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi. Eventually a split between the two was precipitated by the infidelity of a woman, a common theme in Tlingit stories. The various versions of this event are in essential agreement, though each has details not found in the others. We can assume that the wronged husband was a Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi man of the Ģanᴀx̣ Women's Fort House at Angoon, the unfaithful wife was Wᴜckitan, and the lover was Decitan. The latter was discovered and slain at the settlement on Stillwater Anchorage, when the family were preparing to move to Sullivan Point. Garfield's informant (Garfield, 1947, p. 441) credits the discovery and killing to the husband's nephew, and one of our informants ascribes this to the husband himself. In any case, the Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi left the area, surrendering their rights to the Decitan; in memory of this they carved the picture of a "copper" at Sitkoh to symbolize the wealth they were giving away. According to one of our versions, the issue of which group was to move away was settled by a hockey or shinny match between Decitan and G̣anᴀx̣ women. The Decitan seem to have given a big potlatch in order to raise their status, turning the insults of the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi into honorable names.

VERSION 1

[The following is based on accounts given by the same informant at different times.]

There was a clan called G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi that at one time lived on a place called G̣anᴀx̣canuwu. They separated over a woman. Some moved over to Taku; those that remained behind were then called Decitan.

A woman married to one of the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi men fell in love with a young man of the Decitan. She took a big square wooden box, called łᴀkt, and kept her boy friend inside it. When they were moving about she did not want anyone else to handle it. The young man was inside. Once they were moving, from where Charlie Anderson has a farm. The woman was away (she happened to be busy with something else), so the husband picked up the box. It was very heavy, which made him suspicious. When he got it on his shoulder, he tried to shift it. He made sudden jerks up and down, and that made the young man in the box grunt. The husband packed the box along. He knew what was in it. He went on packing the box along until he came to a big round rock (x̣iʟ) on the beach on which he threw down the box with all his strength. The box broke, and he killed the man with a club. This caused bitter feeling in the clan. Both the husband and the lover were G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi. So the big clan separated over it. Some of them stayed here. Those that stayed behind called themselves the Decitan. The G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi went to Taku.

At the feast after the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi people had separated they say that over forty slaves were sacrificed (by the Decitan?) [The informant does not know whether the slaves were killed or given to the opposite moiety, because the phrase used, gux̣ʷ wᴜduwᴀdjÀq, means either to kill or to give away.]

VERSION 2

There is a funny story about Turn Point.

The girl has a boy friend. The family was moving. They had boxes, with the cover tied on with ropes. This girl got him in there; so he's going to stow away. They think it out. One of the men is going to pack it, the box. He was getting it onto his shoulders, jerking the box to get it on his shoulders. He heard something inside. He came to a boulder on the beach. So he began to shake the box. The man [inside] made a sound [grunt] from the jerk. So he threw the box down on the stone and smashed his head.

That's why the people split. They talked it over for years. The women were going to play a hockey game. Whoever lost was going to move from Angoon. They were the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi and the Decitan playing against each other. My tribe is Decitan. The G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi were ahead of us, were the boss. They were above the Decitan. We tried to be a nation with them, like Japanese under U. S. A. The G̣anᴀx̣ca (women) lost the game, so that settled the trouble. They went over to Taku, Haines, Kake, Klawak, Hydaberg, Ketchikan, and Wrangell.

When they were going, they got out (off shore) a little way and called: "You people got no place, got no home—k'éłăngăyícù." So the Decitan made a name out of it, Łangucu. Mathew Fred, President of the ANB, has that name. Another name they were calling: "You people have no tribe—nacúx̣cícà." The name from that is Nacuháyì. The beach boss at Hood Bay, Robert Johnson, has it. Another name was: "Your heart is pounding because you're afraid—yi'i yu tAq' tuti gIn." The name is Qŭdắq̓ti.k—a young Decitan child has it. The ĢanAx̣Adi had been saying that to the Decitan for years. When they make a name they shorten the word a bit.

ORIGIN OF THE 'ANX̣AKHITAN

The 'Anx̣akhıtan, "People of the House in the Middle of the Town," are the descendants of a Decitan woman who married a Haida man, Hatśún, and went to live with him at Kasaan. Years later she and her grandchildren returned to the Angoon area, where the woman's brother, the chief of Steel House, arranged for them to build their house in the middle of the village. Informants differ as to whether the village in question was Angoon or the town in Whitewater Bay. In any case, the 'Anx̣'akhıtan claim special rights at Whitewater Bay. Two of our informants also said that the Ł̓ınedi of Juneau were also descended from this same woman. On the way north from Kasaan, however, they went to Juneau instead of to Angoon territory. Swanton reports only that the two Raven groups of the Hutsnuwu, the Ānq!a'ketān of NAłtuck-an on Whitewater Bay and the Dē'citan of Āngū'n, "are said to have separated at some former time over internal trouble" (Swanton, 1908, p. 412).

Garfield's version adds the following details: The woman had eight children. The reason their descendants wanted to return to Angoon was because they were taunted by the Haida for being foreigners. Before leaving, the woman sent her "power," a seagull, to inform her relatives in Angoon of her intention to return. They painted its face and sent it back with a blanket to indicate that they would welcome her. All the people of Kake were invited to the potlatch when 'anx̣ak hıt was built (Garfield, 1947, p. 442).

The 'Anx̣akhıtan themselves, my people, sprang from the Decitan. There was a chief named Kıtcnał. He had a sister named QasaygE. She married a Haida man from Kasaan. She went to live there, since everybody goes to the man's side when they get married. When their descendants had multiplied at Kasaan, they asked: "Is that all of us who are living now?" Then QasaygE answered: "No. You have great-uncles living yet. But they are not here. They live at Kootznahoo."

So the descendants decided to come back among the Tlingit here. That's how the 'Anax̣khıtan came about. The Haida built big red cedar dugouts. They had one (two?) of them. (The two canoes were called t'a.wAq, "Goose," and gAx̣ʷ yAdi, "Sawbill duck's child.") Then they started. The descendants of that woman moved up here from Kasaan. They brought QasaygE with them, too. All of them had to come.

When they came here, when they were coming right around the point, people could hear them singing the songs that they had composed. These were special songs made up for the event. The singing was just in time with the paddling, with the paddles going up and down. The people landed right in front of the houses of the people from whom they had come. Kɪtcnał, the great chief, thought of those who came back as his nephews or grandchildren. He said: "We must make room for them; we must welcome them, those who have come back. We will do that by dividing the whole village in two. Some of the houses will be on one side and some will be on the other side."

The village was divided in two and ’anx̣̓ak hɪt was built in the center. It means "House in the Center." The people came and lived in the center of the village where they built the new house.

In discussing the story, the informant added that the first ’anx̣̓ak hɪt was built at Whitewater Bay. This is also true of the other lineage house belonging to the sib, yᴀnxun hɪt. He thinks that the Dᴀqł’awedi were already living in the Angoon area at this time.

He went on to say:

t‘ił’ hɪt, "Dog Salmon House," is the same thing as ’anx̣̓ak hɪt, but I've never heard that t‘ił’ hɪt was the older name [as the informant's aunt had said]. It might be just another name. When they are making a reference to ’anx̣̓ak hɪt they would call it t‘ił’ hɪt. For instance, t‘ił’ca means "female Dog Salmon women." It's just another way of saying ’Anx̣̓akhɪtancawᴀt.

J. G.'s father was from Juneau; he was a L’ɪnedi. J. G. once told me that is really what we are called. There is a branch in Juneau. When the people (’Anx̣̓akhɪtan) were coming back from Kasaan, they stopped around the other side of Point Gardner. They said to each other: "Which way are you going?" Some of them came up Chatham Strait and some went up by Sumner Strait to the Juneau area. Juneau was not known then; it was really the Taku area. [More correctly, Auke territory.] "Gold Creek" there at Juneau was called t̓šᴀntik‘ᴀ-hini, before the place was Juneau. Salmon Creek was called t‘ił’-hini. Auke Bay, ’akʷ, was the main village there. The people had a home there and that's where the L’ɪnedi went.

STORY OF BASKET BAY

The Basket Bay People are only a lineage or house group of the Decitan, not a separate sib. They apparently lived at Basket Bay on Chichagof Island until early in the present century, when they moved to Killisnoo and Angoon. The stories recorded by Swanton and Garfield [25] are essentially similar to those that we heard, explaining how the Basket Bay settlement was destroyed by a pet beaver. Garfield's informants add that the survivors copied the new type of spear and the powerful bow and arrow made by the beaver, and also adopted the Beaver as a crest at the funeral potlach given for their dead relatives.

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[25] Swanton, 1909, Tale 68, "The Beaver of Killisnoo"; Garfield, 1947, p. 440. Both Garfield and I are indebted to Andrew Davis for the words of the beaver's song.

VERSION 1

A beaver was taken for a pet by one of the people. The little beaver made bows and arrows. At one time, it was making a spear. While it was sharpening the spear, the little beaver would sing:

"Kluckwan khasg-kee tlyea ott oo-nar-nee,
oosh-ke-tla-goo ahnny kaka kettle,
oosh-ke-tla-goo ahnny kaka chettle.

"Never had such an event taken place in a permanent village. As a legend, a village I have crumbled. As a legend, a village I have carried away."

All this time the beaver was actually crumbling and taking away the ground from under the village. He was making the spear and the bows and arrows to kill the chief. He hid them somewhere in the woods. One day someone found them. They brought the weapons to the chief; the little beaver asked to see them, and shot the chief with the arrow. Then he ducked and turned the village upside down. That is why Basket Bay is so odd at some places. The people moved to Angoon.

VERSION 2

The beaver was sharpening a harpoon (dέna) to kill them. The big shot [chief] asked it: "What are you going to do?" The beaver said: "I don't know," [meaning] that was his business. Finally he killed the big shot. He let the water in under the town, and jumped in the water, and the town turned upside down when he flopped his tail. The big shot turned to stone.

My nephew's father was at Basket Bay when he was a little boy. He saw a stone in the hole that looked like a man—just like half a face [profile?]. The man turned to stone when the beaver turned the town upside down.

That the Tlingit may well have kept tame beavers is suggested by a story told about the pet beaver that the mother of an informant's friend kept in her house at Hydaberg. The point of the story turned on the cleverness of the beaver that stole the woman's gold bracelets in order to wear them himself.

ORIGIN OF THE DAQŁ'AWEDI

Swanton (1908, p. 410) records no story of the Eagle DAqł'awedi, but writes only: "The DAqL!awe′dî, the significance of whose name was not learned, are another widely scattered group, being found under that name in Tongas, Hutsnuwu, and Chilkat, while the Tsague′dî of Kake are a branch." Garfield reports that their ancestors were the YEnyE′dI, "Hemlock People," who migrated to the coast down the Stikine River, passing under a glacier. Some went to Thorne Bay on the east coast of Prince of Wales Island, and eventually moved to Eliza Harbor on the south coast of Admiralty Island, where the first "Killer Whale House" was built. Then they moved to Hood Bay. Here the group split, some moving to Angoon, while others, known as the Tsagʷe′dI, "Hood Bay People" (Seal People ?), eventually moved south to Saginaw Bay in Kake territory. Garfield's version of the trouble which led to this split is the same as that told to explain the separation of the Ģanᴀẋᴀdi and the Decitan (Garfield, 1947, pp. 447 ff.). She has also recorded versions told at Angoon, Kake, and Klawak of Natsıłanᴇ, the man who was abandoned by his jealous brothers-in-law on a sea lion rock, from which he escaped after curing the son of the sea lion chief who had been wounded by a harpoon. Later he made the first killer whales of wood in order to send them against his brothers-in-law. This is the origin of the killer whale crest. Swanton also heard versions of this story at Sitka and Wrangell, in which Natsîłᴀne′ is said to belong to the Tsague′dî, Seal People, a branch of the Dᴀqł’awedi.[26]

While we were not told any connected story about the migration of the Dᴀqł’awedi to Angoon, various informants mentioned details. The only long story (see below) brings this sib after the Flood down from the interior to Lynn Canal, which they crossed on a raft. They went to Haines and to Chilkoot Lake. There is actually a site at the outlet of this lake, which we visited in 1949, and which appears to be old. In addition, there is a modern fish camp nearby.

Another informant said that the Dᴀqł’awedi who came from Haines camped at Deepwater Point (ẋ̇ak‘ᴀ–’an) in Eliza Harbor, "out in the open, at the mouth of the bay," but didn't like it because it had no shelter, and therefore moved to Angoon.

A Dᴀqł’awedi chief placed this early settlement in Eliza Harbor on Liesnoi Island (Gᴀnᴀẋ ẋ̇ak‘ᴀ–’an). Here they built a "Killer Whale House" with a wooden whale on the roof. The wind blew it off.[27] So they said "can kit—poor killer whale!" and made a sad song about it. They later moved to Angoon which belonged to the Decitan.

I am indebted to Mr. William Paul of Juneau for a translation of this song:

> Pity the killer whale!
> Where is his land (home)?
> Pity the killer whale!
> Just as he takes up anything for his land.

Another Dᴀqł’awedi informant said that his ancestors came down the Stikine River after the Flood and went to Haines. There were several versions, he reported, of the location of the house that had the killer whale on the roof which blew down. According to one, this house was in the interior. But how, he asks, could interior people know anything about killer whales? Evidently, he explains, people from the coast had gone to the interior and told the people there about the seafoods of the coast. They intermarried with the inland people, and finally they all moved to the coast and migrated to Angoon territory.

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[26] Swanton, 1909, Tale 4, "Origin of the Killer Whale," and Tale 71, "Story of the Killer-Whale Crest of DᴀqʟǃaweʹdÎ."

[27] Garfield, 1947, p. 447: "The west wind blowing through it made a sad wailing sound which inspired a song still used by the Killer-whale House people at their feasts."

It will be remembered that "Far-away Killer Whale" had a house in Chaik Bay. The name for this place suggests the falling down of the killer whale image.

In connection with the Dᴀqł'awedi claim to Hood Bay, we were told by one man that the Tsagʷedi of Kake used to own both Eliza Harbor and Hood Bay, but gave them to the Dᴀqł'awedi. Another reason given was that an old woman of the sib turned to stone on top of a nearby mountain during the Flood. (It is obvious that we are not going to be able to reconcile this story with that which tells of the Dᴀqł'awedi migration *after* the Flood!) Still another informant, the Dᴀqł'awedi chief, said that his people originally owned only the South Arm of Hood Bay, but that the North Arm was given to them by the Decitan chief whose Dᴀqł'awedi son had been killed there by a bear.

We also heard two versions of the story of the famous Dᴀqł'awedi shaman of Hood Bay. He may have been the same individual as the one who learned by "mental telepathy" about the party in distress below Whitewater Bay (see p. 58).

MIGRATION OF THE DAQŁ'AWEDI

After the Flood, people came down Nass River from the interior. Then when the Flood went down, they spread all over.

They began to see fish coming up the river, so they came down to trace the fish, to see where they came from. So they came down to the bottom [mouth] of the river. Some came down Stikine, down Taku, and down a stream across from Haines on Lynn Canal called łk̓as̓ey hi.n [probably łɪ-gas hin, "Taboo River"].

The Dᴀqł'awedi came down this river. After they came down, they thought the salt water was a lake. When the tide came up, they said the lake was "walking up," and when it went down, they said "the water is walking away." They didn't understand the tide. A man tried to swallow salt water in his hands, because he used to drink that way from a lake, but it tasted funny.

They stayed around there for years. Finally they made a raft to go across Lynn Canal. They took a good calm day. Each family had a separate section of the raft. They poled to Haines. Then they began to cruise around the beach.

There is a lake above Haines [Chilkoot Lake], called łqu.ta. The real name is łqu.tcᴀkayᴇ. They saw sockeyes going into the lake so they made a camp there.

Finally they saw something shining in the lake when it was dark. It shone out like a high-power floodlight. It was laying on the bottom. They can't get at it. They studied how they were going to get it. Finally they made ropes of tree roots—no, out of moose hide, ayá.n t'ɪx̓i [ayá.n "Yukon Indians", t'ɪx̓i "rope-of"].

One young man volunteered. "I'll hang onto a rock. Tie the line to my back, and let me down in the water. Soon as I let go the rock I'll grab the other (thing) and jerk on the line. Then pull me up."

So he practiced, got used to staying under water. So they sunk him down. He grabbed that thing, he jerked, and they pull him up. They had a big piece of it put it in the boat. It's heavy. They studied how it's going to turn out. At dark, it shown like broad daylight. It was a diamond, q'útx̣ayanaha ["star"].

So they chipped it, so everyone got a share. Any place they go, they could put it on a rock, and keep track of each other. They didn't know the coast. But it shines better in the water. They had it a long time. But it's lost now. Maybe they sold it, maybe to French Canadians. They came in ships after the furs, came up with the Chinook language. Old people used to be able to talk Chinook. French Canadians were called ɪngɪnᴀ.n. That's the mispronunciation of their boat's name.

People from Nass River also stopped at the north end of Kruzof Island, near Sitka, called kuwᴀtɪx̣̓i-'an.

STORY OF THE HOOD BAY SHAMAN

VERSION 1

A Dᴀqł'awedi shaman was in Hood Bay, at the fishing stream, tsáqʷʌ̀ [note name for the whole South Arm]. The dog salmon had finished spawning and all were dead. There were just piles of skin and bones. Blow flies had laid eggs in them and the maggots were wriggling.

He heard one dead fish calling him: "Wútcxkaduha, save me!" This was not his real name, which was Yaicatsét. He picked up the dead fish, put an eagle feather on its head, and it came alive and jumped into the water. The dog salmon became one of his powers. There was a spirit in it.

Another time he was near a point northeast of this stream when a crane called to him: "Qatutctín, get on my back!" He climbed on the bird's back, and it packed him all the way to Kootznahoo Head, where there is a cave, and put him down there. The crane became his power.

VERSION 2

There was a great shaman at Hood Bay, one of the Dᴀqł'awedi. He was so powerful that when they put his straw mat (gátc) in front of him, the fringes on it would move as if they were alive. He was one of the most powerful doctors.

Before he got his full powers he had a challenge contest with a woman doctor. The man called his spirit. The people had a curtain hung up and they heard it rip. The man's spirit was a mussel shell knife. The woman, however, gathered up his spirit in her hand as it was coming in. "Is this your power?" she asked. This showed that she had more power than he did, so the man was very much embarrassed.

He went fasting to get more powers. He was called Qatuctín then.

Once he was going up a salmon stream in Hood Bay when he heard someone calling. He went up the stream, looking about. He looked down and there was an old dog salmon with gnats in it. It was calling him Wútcxkaduhá, a name which means "bringing things together."

He cleaned the salmon then and put it into a deep pool ('ɪc). Then he put feathers on it and pretended to make it jump. The fish jumped and went a little ways. Then he cleaned it again, and took out a few more gnats and maggots which were stuck on its tail. This time the fish jumped and disappeared. He was testing his powers. Afterwards he told the people that he had a new name. That name now belongs to Jimmy George, chief of Killer Whale Tooth House of Angoon.

Another time he was going along and he heard someone calling him by the same name, Wútcxkaduhá. He looked around, but didn't see anyone. Then he saw a bird, a crane (łᴜq'). He came closer, but the bird didn't go away. After a while he realized that was where the voice was coming from. It said: "Jump on my neck."

When he got close enough, he did that and the bird went right into the bay with him, although this kind of bird doesn't dive. It started to swim and it dove down. From Hood Bay it went, and came up at Killisnoo, at the channel called wucq‘ᴜłɪƚᴇʟ’ sit‘, which means "it was getting so fat it was getting narrow." The bird named that place. [Since the whaling station was established at Killisnoo after this event, the informant thinks that the people thought of that name then, when there would be whale grease on each side of the channel.]

They got their breath, and the bird told the man to put his head right down by his neck. It dove again. It took him right down by the cliffs at Kootznahoo Head, at t‘at‘úkʷ x̣̓ayɪ. He rode with the bird to the mouth of the cave in the slanting rocks, a hole in the water, and he came upon great spiritual powers there. That's where he got the mat that had ends that were alive. He got his main powers from the spirits there. After that the bird took him back to Hood Bay.

Then when he had the powers from the dog salmon, the crane, and the other spirits, he went back to the place where he had been embarrassed. He came with an attendant ('ix̣̓t x̣ᴀn qáwᴜ) [a young man of the shaman's sib who waits on him and beats his drum]. There were a lot of people on the shore watching them coming. They had some pike poles in the canoe and he told his attendant to throw one ashore. His attendant threw it ashore and it stuck in the ground. The young men on shore tried to pull it out but they couldn't do it. All the young people got interested then. They twisted it but they couldn't pull it out. This showed that the man's spiritual powers were helping. They were holding the pole. They twisted it until it was like a rope.

The news spread and the people crowded in the house and jammed in to see him perform. The house was crowded and people on top of the roof were looking down through the smoke hole. When the time came to give the performance, the attendant wasn't even near the drum. He was very far off. His hair was turned up [gathered] on top of his head. He just nodded his head towards the drum and the people could hear the drum beating. Nobody was beating the drum, it was just hanging there, but it was making the sound as the man kept moving his head.

[This incident is the basis for the expression used in public speeches to indicate that the speaker would like to do something but is unable. "I'm just going to nod my head towards you people, and the drum will beat." The name of the attendant is mentioned.]

So they had the challenge again. The woman had her spiritual power from the owl (tsᴜsk̓ʷ). She still thought that she had more power than he did. Just as soon as the people were seated, the performance began. Both doctors [or the man only?] were going around the fire sunwise. The woman was making a noise like an owl: häy' häy' häy'! The man disregarded it. Soon she tried to block him again. He grabbed her power then and said: "Is that yours?" [The informant thinks he crushed it under his feet.] Then he picked her off her feet as if he were a magnet. She stuck right on his back, although she tried to get down. This was when he was going around the fire. [The informant does not know the end of the story.]

ORIGIN OF THE WUCKITAN

We learned little of the history of this Eagle sib.

The Wᴜckitan used to live up Taku, in an enormous house—the biggest in the world. But they were too crowded and had trouble among themselves, so some of them decided to leave. The chief they left behind wept and sang a sad song. They came down Taku and went all over—some to Hydaberg; there are a few there now—and to other places. But they all know the same story.

Garfield (1947, pp. 449f.) reports the story in more detail, however. She identifies the ancestors of the WUckitan as YEnyÉdi, like those of the DAqł'awedi. Both groups migrated to the coast where they built a "Big House," hIt Len. Later the WUckitan quarreled again, and separated, one canoe going to Tuxekan, another to Kake, the third to Haida country, and the fourth starting off for Freshwater Bay. The last party stayed for a while at Grouse Fort on Icy Strait, in present Hoonah territory, where they built a house called nu cak'A hIt, "Fort-on-Top House," or wuck'A hIt, "Over-all House," on a bluff that overlooks the stream, x̣́Aśt'U hi'n, "Jaw-Inside River," at the mouth of which lived the people who later became the Kagwantan.

This village is also mentioned by Swanton as KAq!Anuwū' in the story which explains the origin of the Kagwantan, "People of the Burned Down House." In this version, it was a Wolf House that was burned, and the Angoon Decitan had been invited to the potlatch to celebrate its erection (Swanton, 1909, Tale 104, pp. 338, 326–334, 342). Swanton also reports: "An old man at Sitka seemed to think that the Wucketān had come from KAq!Anuwū'; along with the Kāgwantān and other Eagle clans" (Swanton, 1908, p. 412). Our informants identified this place as kAx́nuwu, "Female Grouse Fort," and a Kagwantan man claimed it as the "capital" of his people. We were also told that formerly both Kagwantan and WUckitan lived there. There were two ladies, one belonging to each sib; the WUckitan woman was named Quɬgàt, but our informant did not remember the name of the other. When either of the two sibs was going to give a potlatch, the woman of the other sib would walk around dressed in dentalium shells. People would hear the rattle of her beads and so know what was being planned.

We visited this site in 1949. It is on a rocky point, has a shelly midden on top and on the flat below, and shows the remains of about four house pits (fig. 16). In addition, there is a large, unfinished but abandoned lineage house belonging to a Kagwantan chief named T'oyat', "Kwakiutl," now living at Hoonah. It is tempting to think that the story of the burned house might be verified by excavation at this site. Our impression is that it would repay further archeological work, for we found a stone adz in the midden near one of the house pits.

From Grouse Fort, to continue Garfield's history, some of the WUckitan moved to Excursion Inlet, where they built nu hIt, "Fort House." Again some of their descendants moved, camping in Funter Bay, Whitestone Harbor, Hawk Inlet, and False Bay, eventually

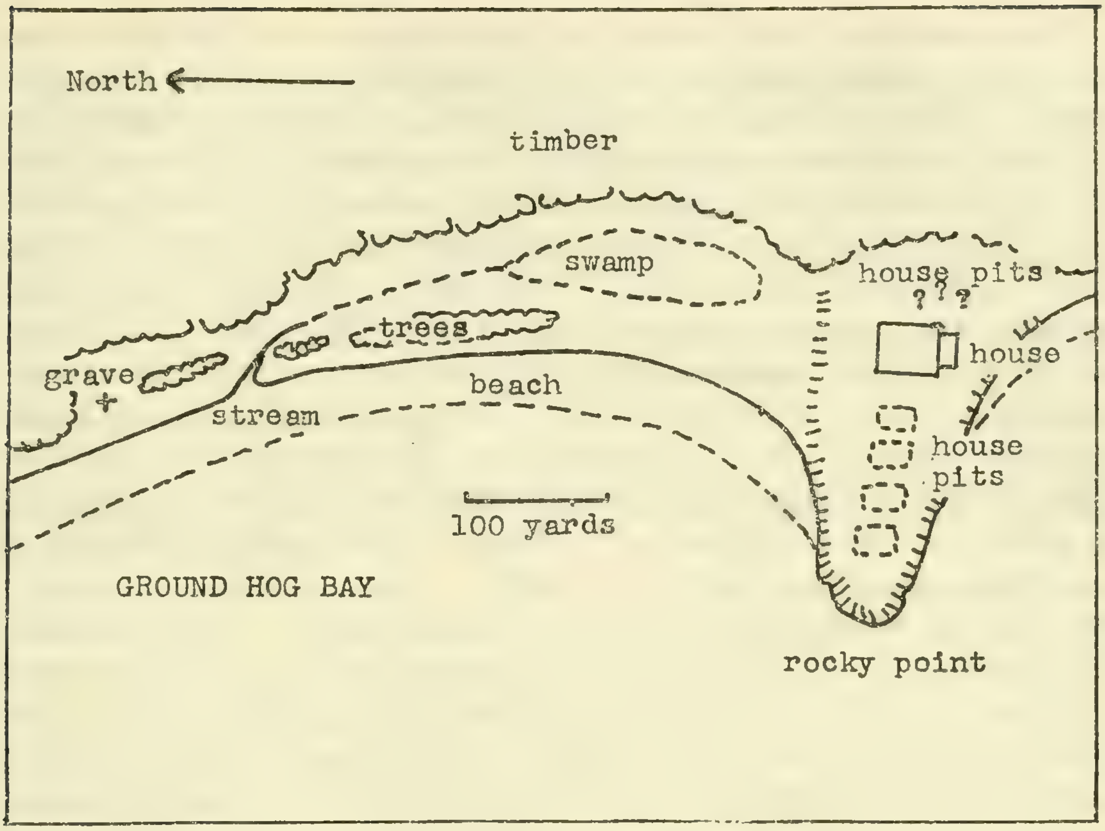

Figure 16.—Site of Grouse Fort, Icy Strait.

founding takʷânɪ, "Winter Village," in Pavlof Harbor in Freshwater Bay. Here they built a new Fort House. Still later they moved to Angoon. Eventually they surrendered their rights in Tenakee Inlet to the 'Anx̣akhɪtan in compensation for a murder (Garfield, 1947, p. 452).

One of the places occupied by the Wʊckitan in Kootznahoo Inlet was Pillsbury Point. When they were driven away by hostile attack, they are said to have gone north, to Freshwater Bay, to Excursion Inlet, and to Battle Creek, the sockeye stream behind Strawberry Point (Island?) in Glacier Bay. Our informant did not make clear when this move was supposed to have taken place, so we cannot relate this chronologically to the episodes in the sib migration story recorded by Garfield. Swanton (1908, p. 412) suggests that the Juneau Wʊckitan were derived from the Angoon or Hoonah. But we learned no story explaining the origin of the different branches of the sib. Most of the tales told us referred clearly to later events in the history of the Wʊckitan.

ORIGIN OF THE TEQʷEDI

According to Swanton, the Teqʷedi came from Prince of Wales and Kuiu Islands, and derive their name from that of a small island, Teq°, near the northern end of Prince of Wales Island. "According to Haida accounts, they were their chief opponents at the time when that tribe invaded Alaska, and they subsequently fled to the mainland." "From all the accounts obtained, it would seem that the Te′qoedi constituted a large part of the population of Prince of Wales Island and moved to Tongas and Sanya at the time when the Haida immigration took place, whether that happened peaceably or otherwise" (Swanton, 1908, pp. 408 f., 481, 443). Garfield's informants said that their ancestors claimed the areas of Sukkwan and Kasaan on Prince of Wales Island before the Haida came, and that the original Bear House was at Sukkwan. She also records a myth explaining how the Teqʷedi of a settlement near Old Kasaan acquired their name at a peace ceremony given by the Bears to the Dog Salmon, at which the Bears instructed people in the proper treatment of dead bears (Garfield, 1947, pp. 443 ff.). She also gives a version of the story of Katś the Teqʷedi man who married a female Bear, which is told by the Teqʷedi of Tongas and Angoon to justify their claim to the bear as a crest. The scene of this story is laid near Ketchikan. Swanton also records a similar story from Wrangell, and another from Sitka in which Katś is a Kagwantan man (Swanton, 1909, Tale 69 and Tale 19). We heard an abbreviated version at Angoon.

The most important story of the Angoon Teqʷedi centers around their former settlement at Todd. Garfield's version of the fight here between two Teqʷedi groups is essentially the same as ours, but contains further details (Garfield, 1947, pp. 445 f.). Thus, the unfaithful wife was a Decitan woman, her husband belonged to Bear House, and the lover whom he killed to Valley House. The husband was able to recognize his wife when she was with her lover because he had put red paint on her blanket. Our story lacks the end which Garfield's informants supplied: After the fight between the husband (and his relatives) and the relatives of the murdered lover, the former group went to Chilkat where they became the Taqestina sib; the lover's relatives went to Whitewater Bay. As will be seen, both Bear House and Valley House are, however, represented at Angoon.

Garfield also records the adventures of some Teqʷedi sea-otter hunters from a camp near Mount Edgecumbe. People from this camp went to (settled at ?) Todd and Yakutat (Garfield, 1947, pp. 446 f.). The movement to Todd should be remembered in relation to the establishment in 1804–5 of a fortified village in Peril Strait of Indians who fled from the Russians at Sitka. Our informants at Yakutat confirm the movement of Teqʷedi from Mount Edgecumbe to the Yakutat area.

STORY ABOUT TROUBLE AT TODD

They have a story about something that happened near Todd Cannery in Peril Strait at Lindenberg Head. The place is called q‘àcʌ́-t‘ᴇ-wahayɪyᴇ, "Where a rock fell on somebody's head." It is named after the incident.

There was a woman who was going out with a man. Her husband was going fishing and he was catching lots of fish. Every time he would go out fishing she would go out with the man. Both of the men were Teqʷedi. Her husband knew, and knew he would trap her some day.

One day in the spring when he had gone fishing, he marked her on shore by her blankets. He saw her go with the man. The husband rows ashore. He goes around the bluff. They had a fight there after this, the Teqʷedi did. He was looking below and he saw her with the man, lying down. They were at the bottom of the cliff. He got a big rock. He was planning to kill them both. So he dropped the rock, but he got only the man. The rock fell on the man's head, but it did not hurt his wife.

The husband then goes fishing again. He is catching lots of halibut. The hook with which he killed lots of halibut was called ɬex̣̓ʷ-ᴡᴀᴄᴋ‘ᴀ-s̓aq‘, "red snapper cheek bone." In the meanwhile the wife gives the alarm that she has found a man killed by a rock that fell off the bluff onto his head.

Finally the husband brought in his fish. They used to use big shells of a brown color, big mussels, for cutting fish. A mussel shell knife was called yis̓. The man's wife came to meet him and says that an accident had happened to one of his male relatives.

He said: "Don't worry," and he gave her a sharp yis̓. "Everything will be all right," he says. "Take your time, and don't worry. Don't worry too much. Just keep quiet." When he told his wife to take it easy in cleaning the halibut, he was just trying to rub it in, trying to make her contentious; that is, he was indicating that he knew what had happened to her lover.

She was cutting fish, but the first cut she made, the woman cut her foot.

Everything was O. K. for awhile, and after that they had a fight because they found out.

The husband was out seal hunting. He was with his close relations. They landed on the beach and built a fire. In the meantime others who were going out hunting saw the fire and thought they would join the first party. The husband was sitting by the bonfire and was telling his closest relatives that he had done that [killed his wife's lover]. In the old days the men had long hair, and when someone died, they would cut it off. The other hunters, when they were coming in towards the fire, heard a boy saying: "So, after all, it's you that done it, and now I'm cold without my hair!"

The incoming party heard this remark about how if the man had not done it, the little boy wouldn't miss his hair. The others wondered then, and they stayed quiet in their canoes. When they heard the story, they went away just as easy. Those on shore didn't see them. Now, if people build a bonfire on the shore, they call out: "Is that you?" just to be sure.

The others who had heard the story went ashore nearby. After they had told the story, the close relations of the dead man went and attacked the husband and his party. Just one man of them got away, and though he was speared, he walked along the shore the whole way to Todd.

After the men who had attacked the husband's party came back, the one survivor of the husband's party told the relatives of the other men that had been killed. He got back in the night and told the close relatives of the dead men. Then they started to prepare for war.

Then, in those days when they prepared for war, they usually took baths in winter on the beach so they would be able to withstand any kind of hardship. They were always preparing for some kind of future war. They would bathe right out on the beach.

So all the Teq^{w}edi got into the water together—and right there in the water they began to fight each other. The people used to have lots of fights with themselves.

OTHER STORIES ABOUT ANGOON SIBS

The story of the trouble at Todd might just as well, perhaps, have been included in the later history of the Angoon sibs, since it would seem from its character to refer to a period of ordinary historical events. We have included it, however, among the sib origin and migration stories, since it serves to explain why the Teq^{w}edi joined the Angoon people. While it is hopeless to attempt to arrange all the various sib traditions in chronological order, those to be reported below would seem to refer to relatively recent times. In a number of cases an actual date for the event can be ascertained from historical sources. Thus, we were told a number of stories about the destruction of the Russian post at Sitka in 1802 but omit them here, since this victory is ascribed to the Sitka KiksAdi, not an Angoon group.

The stories of the successful attack on the Russians were told us by a man whose paternal grandfather was a KiksAdi, and who had learned these tales as part of the glory of his ancestors when he was a school boy at Sitka. It is probably characteristic that the defeat of the Russians was ascribed to the KiksAdi alone, and the leadership to their chief, KaLian;[28] other Sitka groups were not even mentioned, so this story seems to be fitted into the set of traditions belonging to this Raven sib.

Further investigations might well indicate that the Angoon people did actually play some part, perhaps indirect, in the relations between the Sitkans and Russians, for when Baranof returned to Sitka in September 1804, to reestablish the Russina post, he learned from a Kodiak girl who had been a hostage among the Indians that "the enemy had sent to the inhabitants of Hoosnoff [xutsnuwu], to solicit assistance" (Lisiansky, 1814, p. 160), and this news made the Russians determined to seize the native fort at once. A few days after the Sitkans had fled, abandoning their fort to the Russians, the old chief who had been acting as ambassador or go-between, especially in procuring native hostages for the Russians (one of whom was his own son), again came to the Russians. He was actually a native of "Hoosnoff," married to a Sitka woman, and had apparently tried originally to prevent the Sitkans from attacking the Russians in 1802.

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[28] Lisiansky, 1814, p. 230, refers to "Kotlean," a Sitkan "toyon," or chief, as the principal agent of the attack on the Russuans. He came on July 28, 1805, to make friendly overtures to Baranoff, after the Russians had regained possession of the Indian fort at Sitka.

Failing, he had gone to Chilkat to avoid being involved in the affair.[29] Now he had come on behalf of the "Hoosnoff" to proffer their friendship and to ask permission of the Russians to make war on the Sitkans. This Lisiansky refused. (It is a pity that Lisiansky did not report this man's name, as it is impossible to identify him or the Angoon sib to which he belonged. Lisiansky seems to have been unaware of Tlingit sib or moiety organization.) In typical Tlingit oratorical style, the chief explained that the Sitkans "were held in such contempt by his countrymen . . . that if a Hoosnoff child committed a fault, he was told by way of reprimand, that he was as great a blockhead as a Sitcan" (Lisiansky, 1814, p. 165). This evidently is a reference to the story of the children who misunderstood their mother's instructions and cooked their little sister instead of the food. Swanton records this incident, which occurred at a camp a little north of Sitka (Swanton, 1909, Tale 17) and we also heard the story at Angoon. Our informant further specified that it formed the basis for a moral proverb. Another story that was told Lisiansky to prove the worthlessness of the Sitkans referred to their descent from two brothers who became poor because one of them broke the taboo against eating a sea cucumber. These men were eventually given wives by the Stikine Indians who took pity on them (Lisiansky, 1814, pp. 166 f.).

Another way in which the Angoon people may have become involved with affairs at Sitka was due to the emigration of the Sitka natives to Angoon territory when they abandoned their fort to the Russians in October 1804. A group apparently moved to the eastern end of Peril Strait where they built a fortified village. This place is described by von Langsdorff, who visited it in the fall of 1805, as located on the northeast point of the "Island of Sitka" (Baranof Island), on a rocky headland, some hundred feet high, which could be scaled only from the northwest side. He places it in 57°46′ North latitude, and 134°40′ West longitude (von Langsdorff, 1817, pp. 395, 400, 410). Even if we correct these figures by the errors apparent in his location of Cape Edgecumbe, i. e., to 57°23′ North and 134°56′ West, this still does not give the correct spot, for the designated place falls in Peril Strait, but it does suggest either Point Hanus or Point Moses that flank Hanus Bay on the south shore of Peril Strait. The only high bluff mentioned by the United States Coast Pilot (1943, pt. 1, p. 378), however, is Lindenberg Head at Todd on the opposite shore. One of the charts published by Captain Beardslee (1882), based on surveys of 1879 and 1880, indicate a stockaded village and fort at Todd, which, as we have suggested, may be the fort in question. In an unpublished manuscript, Emmons identifies the fort as Halibut Fort at Point Hayes.

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[29] Lisiansky, 1814, pp. 165, 223. His behavior is typical of the traditional role of the brother-in-law, who acts as neutral go-between in time of war or feud, or as distributor of gifts at potlatches.

Lisiansky describes this fort on the basis of information received from a native interpreter as being "well situated in a small shallow bay . . . defended on the water side by a large rock," and he adds that other communities round about Sitka had also fortified their villages (Lisiansky, 1814, p. 220). His chart, which is not very accurate, shows a village "Sitca" on the east coast of Chichagof Island, a short distance north of Peril Strait, which may be intended to indicate the site of the fort, although it is more likely to refer to the village of sɪ́tqo near Chatham in Sitkoh Bay (ibid., chart opp. p. 221).

While we are unable to locate the new fort accurately, it does seem to fall within the area claimed by the Teqʷedi of Angoon, and the descendants of its founders undoubtedly contributed to the population of Angoon. "Dlchaetin" is the name given by von Langsdorff to one of the chiefs living at this fortified village. He may be Yeł djin, chief of QāxAʹtdja hî̂t, "Lively-Herring House" of the KɪksAdi (Swanton, 1908, p. 405). The chief, "Schinchetaez," who lived about 10 miles (15 versts) west of the fort, cannot be identified. The latter had to live alone with his family because he had been friendly to the Russians (von Langsdorff, 1817, p. 406).

Further investigations at Angoon might lead to an identification of these places, of the chiefs, and of the relationships of the latter to the Angoon people. It is indeed conceivable that the founding of Todd is related to this early 19th century movement from Sitka, though it is strange that neither Garfield nor ourselves learned anything about the origin of this town.

In any case, the enmity between some of the Angoon and Sitka sibs, suggested by Lisiansky's report, is attested by a number of stories that we were told by our Angoon informants. Among these tales are some referring to fights of the Decitan and ʼAnx̣̓akhɪtan with the KɪksAdi, although we do not know which of the two incidents recounted is supposed to have happened first. There is also a series of incidents involving fights between the Stikine from Wrangell and the Sitka Kagwantan, which include some battles between the latter and the Angoon Wʊckitan. Another story which presumably deals with the later history of Angoon recounts the fight between the Wʊckitan and Hoonah people at Pillsbury Point; and there are several versions of the Wrangell attack on the Decitan at Daxatkanada Island and of the subsequent troubles between these two groups.

These stories indicate that while feuds were primarily between sibs, not between whole moieties or communities, the more serious wars were between sibs that belonged to distinct tribes, and there was a tendency for other groups of the same moiety or tribe to become involved because of real or fictitious relationship to the principals concerned. We should also note that individuals who stand in the relationship of father, brother-in-law, or son-in-law to those involved in feuds or wars very often attempt to act as neutral go-betweens, and that this status may be extended to include all members of their lineage or sib. Lastly, the way of making peace after a fight, or arranging a settlement to prevent a fight, was for the disputing groups to exchange men of equally high rank as hostages to be honored at Peace Dances. To refer to old feuds, even now, is to arouse old enmities.

FIGHTS BETWEEN THE DECITAN AND 'ANX̣̓AKHITAN AND THE SITKA KIKSADI

VERSION 1

The Decitan and L'ɪnedi ('Anx̣̓akhɪtan) stayed on a fort off Point Hayes at Sitkoh Bay, during a war with the Kɪksᴀdi of Sitka. I don't know how it started. All the men on the fort were killed. The name of the fort is x̣̓us̓nuwu.

VERSION 2

The Sitka Kɪksᴀdi took the Angoon Decitan for slaves. The Decitan had gone on the south coast on a war party themselves. Some of the women and kids were left behind at a place called tcaʟk'ᴀ nu, "Halibut Place Fort," near Point Hayes at the mouth of Sitkoh Bay. The Kɪksᴀdi came and took the womenfolk and children who had been left behind and took them as slaves.

When the Decitan got back, there was a fellow called Kɪtctayi. He was an 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan man. They prepared for war. They got ready to take back those who had been taken to Sitka as slaves. It was not easy, but they challenged the Sitkans to a fight. The whole bunch went, but M. J. (an elderly 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan man) says that at this time the Decitan were once slaves, and that it took our "tribe," the 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan, to get them back. This happened before there was any Angoon, because they didn't live at Angoon at that time, I believe. But this happened after the Kasaan people got back. The 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan had Haida war canoes. These could carry a lot and outrun the others. There was more power in them, and there were more men to paddle.

Sometimes over here they are telling about how Kɪtctayi of Angoon had fought the Kɪksᴀdi and brought back those women that the Kɪksᴀdi had taken. The Decitan boys were boasting; they knew that my grandfathers were Kɪksᴀdi and were trying to belittle them. Anyway, Kɪtctayi was really 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan. I then asked if they had heard of the place near Sitka, Nakwasina Passage, called tc̓ᴀk̓-k̓ᴜsax̣a-sit', "Eagle Eating (human beings) Small Channel."

The Decitan and 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan had a conflict with the Kɪksᴀdi. I heard about it; I knew both sides. That time the Decitan and the 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan went there to fight. They were getting the worst of it so they ran away into the woods. They landed on Halleck Island and went into the woods. They left their canoes behind, but hoped to get across the Nakwasina Passage. The Sitka people lined up in ambush on the mainland side. When the Angoon people were hungry, they would have to come out. They would swim across. The Kɪksᴀdi killed them as they tried to cross and left their bodies for the eagles to eat. That's how the passage got its name.

(Our informant said that once when he reminded some braggarts of this story, all the Decitan left, except the man in whose house the conversation took place. This man told him afterward that he didn't like to hear about it.)

STORY OF PILLSBURY POINT

Pillsbury Point was an old place. It was called "Whale Head Fort," yaycayí nu. "There used to be a wall around the top of the cliff and hundreds of people stayed inside. People were burned out by people from the West Coast and moved to Freshwater Bay"—our informant did not know why.

The chief at Pillsbury Point used to capture West Coast people going south to trade. Finally he went to Hoonah—the informant was not sure that this was the place—to invite them to make peace. The West Coast chief came, but after eating, he made a mistake. He reached under his left arm. (When asked if this was to draw a knife, the informant said that they didn't have steel in those days, only some kind of bone. In any case, it was a gesture that meant he was going to attack. In retelling, the informant specified that the chief made a signal to his people.) The Wuckitan chief had peace in his heart, but now he knew there could be no peace. That was why they left. They went to Hoonah. The first place they stayed after leaving was at Excursion Inlet, then at Battle Creek, the sockeye stream back of Strawberry Point (Island?) in Glacier Bay. They were looking for their cousins.

SIEGE OF DAXATKANADA

VERSION 1

The Wrangell people, led by chief Ceks, "Shakes,"[30] made war on the Decitan. The latter stayed on top in the fort at Daxatkanada Island, week after week, maybe a month. The Wrangell people believed that they did not have any water, but they had a spring on top. [The informant said he had searched for it, but never found it. It seems impossible to us that there ever should have been a spring there.] Finally Chief Shakes called to them to prove they had water. A young man brought down a basket of water and put it on the "bridge" [causeway]. The Wrangell people tasted it and it was fresh, so they gave up and went away.

All other informants indicate a very different end to the siege, because there was no water on the island. One man identified the chief of the defenders as Kaẋg̣ʊcg̣ɪtẋ, chief of the Decitan Raven House. Another said:

They had no water, so two brave men, from End of the (Beaver) Trail House gave their lives to save their people. They were taken to Wrangell, but the

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[30] Identified by Swanton (1908, p. 402) as chief of Hīt Lēn, "Big House," of the Nanỵaā'ỵi, a Wolf (Eagle) sib of the Stikine.

Wrangell people had so much respect for them they let them go home. [They were evidently taken as hostages for a Peace Dance.]

VERSION 2

The Wrangell Indians drove the Angoon people up onto this fort. The doctors on each side were fighting each other. The Wrangell one dried up the atmosphere until there was no water. The Angoon warriors had to steal the milk from the babies' mothers. Finally the rain came.

The Wrangell people took some prisoners, but the Angoon people escaped way up the Inlet into a salt lake [at the head of Mitchell Bay]. Next year the Wrangell Indians returned and went to look for them, led by their slaves. The slaves took them into the salt lake, but when they came out, the Wrangell people didn't know about the waterfall from the lake [which is submerged only at high water], so they were all drowned.

Later the Angoon people went to Wrangell and shot the canoes of their enemies off High Water Island. When the drowning men grabbed at the canoe rims, they chopped off their wrists. [The informant thought that this must have been after the natives had guns.]

VERSION 3

The people [Decitan] had to surrender that time. Some people came down from Wrangell with Ceks, Chief Shakes. All his generals [nephews?] were considered as Shakes, too.

They came with their war canoes off Danger Point. Some boys who were out fishing saw the war fleet coming. Right around y̦ᴀxt‘ᴀ̀duwudᴀ́ (Turn Point) there are cliffs, and there is a place called uxʷ tk̓s̓etk̓ɪ, "Marten's Small Ladder." This is on Kootznahoo Head, opposite Danger Point. You could go up the cliffs easily there, and right on top is a steep place you can't climb, and there they had fixed up logs like some kind of ladder. They chopped steps into the logs.

When the canoes chased them, they [the boys] rowed fast. The tide was going out strong. And they got ashore and started to run up. They knew the place and they started up the cliff, and the last man up kicked the log down. Those who were chasing couldn't very well get up. They would have to carry the ladder up, too. I think that the ladder had been lowered from the woods above, originally.

The boys walked across this way and came out opposite Daxatkanada. They told the people. They thought the enemy didn't know the tide, but instead of that, the enemy came right up on the island next Daxatkanada. The tide was going out and the people had figured they couldn't make it. The enemy was in the woods right on Channel Point Island, ł̓ʊkʷ-'ani island. That's where the fort people got their water from.

I used to hear the old men talk about it long ago. M. W.'s father's father used to talk about it. It was just like they were starving the people out. They couldn't get any water. They had got all the water they could in canoes. Water gave them away and they had to give up. Thirst is worse than hunger. They carried water in the canoes. I don't see why they stayed out there. They were Decitan out there. They had some water stored in smaller canoes, but it gave out.

They made peace, I believe. They talked to each other from that island and so forth. They talked like riddles [i. e., with the mythological allusions of ceremonial oratory]. One side had to be answered by the other side. Then the Decitan gave up.

This old man claimed his grandfather and so forth were descended from

Shakes. That's why he felt he was all right. He felt he was a little above these here. He was Decitan, but he was descended from *them*. He felt a little better than any around here, because the people had to surrender to his grandparents one time. I believe this happened long before Killisnoo [was founded] but the people must have had guns.

Later, the Decitan went down to Wrangell for a return engagement. They had a sea battle. They shot the Wrangell canoes and tipped them over. People swam up to hang onto the canoes. These people (Decitan) were vicious and cut off their hands.

SEQUEL TO VERSION 3, TROUBLE AT WRANGELL

The Reverend Hall Young referred in a letter to a fight at Wrangell with natives from here [but apparently got it wrong. This occurred in January 1880]. You can't mention old troubles that are settled, so it's hard to find out about it. People at Wrangell got drunk, so they mentioned the trouble at Daxatkanada. They blamed the ministers for the trouble at Wrangell [which followed]. They [some Wrangell natives ?] went disguised as marshals. They broke into some house, confiscating the drinks and so started the trouble. It led to a killing. One old Decitan man, T̓awᴜtcᴀn, claimed he hit an old woman on the head with an ax, but they say he was hidden [during the fight]. The boys used to tease him about it.

[Apparently the old enmity between the Decitan and the Wrangell Nanya'ayi is not yet forgotten, for recently men from Angoon were at Wrangell, and the local natives referred to the defeat at Daxatkanada.] The Angoon people didn't like to hear about Daxatkanada. So one of them said: "What about hands in halibut stomachs ?" [referring to the sea battle at Wrangell]. He got a beating up. In olden days, it comes to death, if you make that remark.

According to Captain Beardslee, who quotes from letters of eyewitnesses,[31] and who later investigated the affair, the Angoon natives were really not to blame, but the chief blame lay with Dr. W. H. R. Corlies, an independent missionary at Wrangell, of whom Beardslee writes: "Unfortunately, his zeal is not tempered with discretion and familiarity with Indian affairs." He also exhibited "ignorance of Indian laws and customs, or even disregard of them." [32]

We may summarize Beardslee's story of the trouble as follows: The native village of 120 Stikine Indians was east of Fort Wrangell, the white settlement, while to the west were a number of guest houses, used by Indians who came to trade at the town. In January 1880, about 50 natives from Angoon were staying there, and not having been subjected to missionary teaching, had set up a still to make "hoochenoo," or rum. On January 11, Dr. Corlies ordered a Stikine Indian who acted as one of the unofficial police at the mission to destroy the still. The latter at first refused, knowing that trouble would result if his people attempted to exercise any authority over the Angoon natives, but finally yielded to the missionary's importunities. The Stikine posse did destroy the still, but one of them was struck in the face, which constituted a deadly insult. Despite the urgings of Dr. Corlies and the Reverend Young that the Stikine natives stay away from the Angoon camp, on January 14 a party of 30 unarmed Stikines did return to demand redress. Accordingly, a young Angoon man stepped out to receive a return blow. This would have settled the matter if a rash young Stikine had not struck him a second time. This led to a fight, in which the Angoon men produced hatchets and other weapons, some of which were snatched from their hands, with the result that seven men were wounded.

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[31] W. H. Woodcock, Chairman of Committee of Safety at Wrangell, January 24, 1880; M. D. Ball, Collector of Customs at Sitka, who had visited Wrangell, January 26, 1880; W. E. George, coast pilot on the mail steamer *California*, January 25, 1880; Dr. W. H. R. Corlies, self-styled "Missionary to the Indians of Alaska," January 27, 1880, published in the Alaska Appeal.

[32] Beardslee, 1882, pp. 50, 53. See pp. 50-54, 70 for Beardslee's discussion of the whole affair.

Mr. Young and Dr. Corlies visited both groups, dressing wounds, and urging that the natives meet at Mr. Young's house next morning for a peaceful council. Instead, an armed group of Angoon men came to the Stikine village, and despite the efforts of Mr. Young, broke into a Stikine house. This precipitated a battle in which shots were exchanged. Toyatt, a Christian Stikine chief,[33] and two of his people were killed, the Angoon people lost two men, and a number of others were wounded, some mortally. The rest of the day was spent in skirmishing back and forth. The whites formed a Council of Safety in an attempt to keep the Indians out of the white town, and sent a message to Sitka asking for protection.

Captain Beardslee sent the requested arms, a gunner and another man. The gunner, Charles Stewart, had a talk with the Angoon people, and learned the truth of the matter. The Angoon people refused the demands of the Stikines that they surrender one of their chiefs to balance the death of Toyatt, but they returned home in January. Then the Stikines destroyed the guest houses, and Colonel Crittenden, the Deputy Collector of Customs, turned the area into a garden. This action enraged all the tribes, who in consequence boycotted the traders at Wrangell, and Captain Beardslee reports that had he known of this while he was still in Alaska, he would have done all he could to have the guest houses restored.

The trouble between the Wrangell and Angoon people was finally settled when a Stikine chief came to Sitka in March, as did also about 40 Angoon people. The latter had come to collect damages for the death of one of their women, to whom Kaʟian, the Kɪᴋꜱᴀdi chief, had furnished liquor. The latter settled for 50 blankets. Captain Beardslee succeeded in bringing together the Stikine chief and the Angoon leaders, who promised to keep the peace.

In August, Captain Beardslee visited Killisnoo where he had a meeting with the local natives, among whom were "Kitchnath" (evidently the chief of the Decitan Steel House, a man also known as Killisnoo Jake, or Saginaw Jake), and "Gandashana" or Andrew. The Angoon natives again repeated their promise not to renew the war on the Stikines, and in case of trouble with the whites to appeal to Captain Beardslee, not to seek redress by retaliation.

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[33] The name is evidently T̓oyat‘, "Kwakiutl," the same as that of the Kagwantan chief who built the modern house at Grouse Fort in Icy Strait. This suggests that "Toyatt" was also a member of the Eagle-Wolf moiety, perhaps Nanya'ayi, since this was the most important sib of that division at Wrangell.

The most trustworthy white source available therefore supports our informant's accusation that the missionary was to blame.

John Muir also has an account of the event, but this is in error on several counts (Muir, 1915, pp. 202–204). He confuses the Angoon with the Taku people, ascribing the first blow in the face to the Stikines and the too violent return blow to a Taku; and he omits all mention of Dr. Corlies. He does, however, present Toyatt (Toyatte) in the traditional role of heroic and self-sacrificing chief, as well as a peace-loving Christian.

PEACE BETWEEN THE WRANGELL AND ANGOON PEOPLE

(It is not clear whether the following event marked the official closing of the war between the Wrangell and Angoon people related above. Walter Sobolof was the son of a Russian priest and trader at Killisnoo, and was for a time bookkeeper for the old herring plant at Killisnoo. Then he moved to Angoon and opened the Kootznahoo Store. He was about 65 years old at the time of his death in the summer of 1950. The incident probably took place early in the present century).

> Mr. Walter Sobolof was at Killisnoo when the Wrangell people came to make peace. Mr. Sobolof used to say that the dances the natives do now aren't anywhere near as good as the old ones; they are just poor imitations. When the Killisnoo people saw the Wrangell people coming they got excited and ran around the beach. Each side took a hostage. They called them "deer" q'uwak'an, because deer are peaceful and don't fight. Then each side chose a name for their "deer." They take a long time figuring out what name to give, because the other side maybe won't like the name, and they won't give back their hostage. The hostages have to be of equal rank. [We were not told just what happened on this occasion, unfortunately. Hostages were not consulted in the choice of name, but it had to imply something good and favorable, and not be subject to misinterpretation.]

The following series of incidents involving the Sitka Kagwantan were all told by the same informant, but not in the form of a consecutive narrative. It is, therefore, possible that in piecing together his remarks, I may have confused the order of some of the events. They seem to be, however: (1) Defeat of the Kagwantan at Wrangell; (2) massacre of the Stikine peace party at Sitka, 1852; (3) attack on the Angoon Wuckitan by the Kagwantan; (4) murder of the Wuckitan by the Kagwantan at Sitka; (5) peace between the Kagwantan and Wrangell natives, 1916.

DEFEAT OF THE SITKA KAGWANTAN AT WRANGELL

The Kagwantan people from Sitka had gone to fight with the Wrangell people who cleaned up on them. . . . That's the time the Kagwantan went down there before, and the Wrangell people wiped them up. . . . When the Kagwantan went down to Wrangell and were almost wiped out, I guess they had one man who was pretty good at climbing or so. They got him, so he tried to climb the hill, and they had spears underneath if he fell down. He just pretended he couldn't climb, but he got away.

He said he had a good wife, and there were a lot of them trying to force him. He said: "No, I've had enough of that woman." [34]

He was an expert at climbing cliffs, and they [the Wrangell natives?] dared him. Then they had something called ꜱɪx̣ᴀɢᴜ djádjì, "having-claws snowshoes." He said he could climb the cliff, if he had these on. He got going and went right up over and notified his people [in Sitka?] what was up. They had figured that all the rest of them [the other Kagwantan in the war party] were killed off, because they didn't behave themselves. They fooled with his wife he left behind. They didn't have enough sense to behave themselves, those warriors—that's why they met their fate. By fooling around with that woman, they had broken the law of chastity any way, the old folks say.

[It is probable that the other Kagwantan who were killed at Wrangell met their fate because they had illicit relations with this man's wife. The informant had previously explained that men preparing for a crisis, such as a war or hunting expedition, fasted or at least ate sparingly, kept away from their wives for an unspecified length of time, and avoided any kind of contact with a menstruating woman.]

MASSACRE OF THE WRANGELL PEACE PARTY AT SITKA

If a peace is made, they call the dance to make peace gówᴀťakank. The peace treaty is called q'uwàk'àn q'ùdzìtí, "a deer is born." It is at this time that they take men from either side—either two or three. They are taken as hostages. It was during this kind of dance that the Kagwantan massacred the Wrangell Indians at Sitka. This happened some time back; the Kagwantans did this while they were having a peace dance. They had invited all the Wrangell people to a regular peace dance. The Wrangell people were all dressed up and unarmed. They had been warned what would take place by the Angoon people.

The Kagwantan people from Sitka had gone to fight with the Wrangell people who cleaned up on them. Then the Sitka people got like a trade, I think. They started to buy things from around Wrangell. The Wrangell people were making good money. But it was really deceiving work on the part of the Sitka people. The Angoon people told the Wrangell people what was going to take place. They must have heard someone talking.

When they had the peace dance at Sitka the Wrangell people came in with no weapons. But one of them had some pistols, or whatever they had, and he gave them to his wife in case anything happened. He was a "deer" and was wearing a Chilkat blanket such as they usually put on a "deer." When trouble came he threw the blanket off. He had chewed at the thongs so that they would be wet and undo easily.

[The informant explained that when a man was a "deer" he was always waited on hand and foot. He had to stand still without moving his arms, and was not

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[34] From a version of this story recorded at Yakutat it appears that the Wrangell men were forcing homosexual relations upon their Kagwantan captive. The original cause of the war was the elopment of the wife of a Sitka Kagwantan man with her lover from Wrangell.

> supposed to do anything for himself. "It was like he was a bishop or something." Apparently, for him to move his arms in order to loosen the thongs which tied the blanket at his neck would be like "breaking a law of nature."] But his wife had gone against him. She had spit right in the place where the powder goes in the gun, so that the gun wouldn't fire. [The informant did not know to what group the wife belonged, but it seems likely that she was a Kagwantan or at least a Sitka woman.] . . .
>
> Yashka, the old man in Sitka, used to tell me of his experience when the Kagwantan were going to have the peace dance at Sitka. The warrior Yakʷan was on the Kagwantan side.[35] The old man said that he was the one who came first into the dance and was in front of Yakʷan. Yakʷan had a sheet and a spear under it. This old man, Yashka, who was a KiksAdi, was right in front of Yakʷan, and that was how they hid the spear.
>
> They announced that Yakʷan was coming. He was like their general. When they said this he opened the sheet and took the spear and threw Yashka aside with it. He was a very strong man and he speared right through two men. A Kagwantan man had yelled: "Yakʷan de'anAgut!" This means "Yakʷan is on the way." This was the signal for his side to be on their toes, and he threw Yashka aside, gave a yell and the whole thing started . . .
>
> They would bring back the scalps of the dead. It is dried with the hair. The Wrangell man who was deceived at Sitka [the "deer"]—they dried his scalp with all the hair. The scalp of this great warrior hangs and they said that even if there was no wind it always moved. He was one of the great Wrangell warriors when the Wrangell people were massacred at Sitka . . .
>
> The moving scalp of the Wrangell man who was deceived in this dance made all the old people marvel. He must have been pretty mad when he was massacred. I forget his name. Probably he was the man whose wife had the two pistols. He was ready to take Yakʷan's challenge. They took him for a "deer" because they knew he was a strong warrior. It must be a leader from the other side they take for a "deer." I don't know why they took his scalp. It must be the same as an honorable burial. It must have been a token of respect to a warrior. The scalp was in a Kagwantan's house after that massacre.
>
> On account of what his wife did, they always say "Women are never to be trusted." The people involved in these fights won't even dare talk about it.

This incident is evidently the same one mentioned by Tikhmenev who wrote:

> The most treacherous murder in 1852 by the Tlingits from Sitka of 40 of their tribesmen from Stakhina when these arrived to end by peace a feud of long standing could have been prevented by sternness on the part of the Administrator General of the colonies. Plundering by the Stakhina Tlingits of a Company's establishment on Sulpher Springs when they were seeking their enemies also would not have taken place.[36]

A young Indian woman from Juneau whom I met in the summer of 1931 told me that after the massacre of the Wrangell natives by the Kagwantan of Sitka, the victors cut off the heads of the most important victims and carefully preserved them. These heads were displayed on their triumphal return to Sitka and were later redeemed by relatives of the slain men. Some of the heads, however, are said to remain to this day in the possession of the Sitka Indians. From her account, the massacre would seem to have taken place at Wrangell, and she dated it in the last quarter of the 19th century, when the Reverend Young first came to Alaska. I suspect, however, that she is wrong about both the place and the date of this event, and that she is actually referring to the massacre at Sitka in 1852 (de Laguna, 1933, p. 744).

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[35] Swanton, 1908, p. 405, lists Yakwâ'n, as "Swimming Wolf," chief of QotxA' naxa, "Star House," of the Kagwantan, and further specifies that "this man led in the last great fight with the Stikine Indians." Yashka was the Russian nickname for a man named KaLian.

[36] Tikhmenev: Historical survey of the establishment of the Russian American Company and of its activities up to the present time, vol. 2, pp. 205–211, St. Petersberg, 1863, MS. translation by Dimitri Krenov, in the Library of Congress. Quoted, Gsovski, 1950, p. 67.

ATTACK ON THE ANGOON WUCKITAN BY THE SITKA KAGWANTAN

When they were having trouble after this with the Wuckitan, the latter were prepared. The Sitka Kagwantan were having a dance, and some of the Wuckitan went, but a big group sat at home with their rifles, and they were going to clean up on them if anything happened. This was in the time of Inq̓uʟ’a’a (the grandfather of the chief of the Teqʷedi Valley House who died in 1940). When the Kagwantan were over here fighting the Wuckitan up where Fort House is [near the center of Angoon], a sharpshooter used to sit on top of the fort and knock off the Kagwantan men one by one when they came out of the woods. The Kagwantan were all in the woods around back by the schoolhouse [i. e., behind its present site]. This man was a real sharpshooter. The Kagwantan were losing a lot of men, so they left. The day after they left a lot of Auke Wuckitan came. They called on the Sitka Kagwantan to come out and have a showdown, but the Kagwantan had already gone. They had gone the day before. . . . When the Kagwantan came here to fight the Wuckitan they must have had a doctor along to warn them that the Auke Bay Wuckitan were coming.

MURDER OF THE WUCKITAN BY THE KAGWANTAN AT SITKA

My father had a nu hɪt, “Fort House,” in Sitka. The Wuckitan there used to have trouble with the Kagwantan. There was a Wuckitan daughter married to a Kagwantan at Sitka. At some drunken brawl, the hatred for the Kagwantan flared up. The Kagwantan challenged the Wuckitan to come out [of Fort House] and fight. My grandfather, Cuwika, [mother’s father, a Wuckitan] was a small boy. The Kagwantan son-in-law was pushing the Kagwantan away from his father-in-law’s door. The Wuckitan inside did not know what was going on. Finally the Kagwantan got bold enough to hit on the house with a hammer Then the Wuckitan shot out of the door and they killed their own son-in-law and another Kagwantan man.

Then all the Wuckitan were killed off. My grandpa’s older brother and another relative knew they were going to die. They would look outside to see what Kagwantan were outside. They would find out who the Kagwantan man they saw was, because they wanted to shoot only those who were equal in rank to themselves. The Wuckitan had a good sharpshooter. But finally all the Wuckitan were killed by the Kagwantan, except for that little boy, my grandfather, who was hidden on the floor so he escaped.

Later he wouldn’t like any rough talk. He felt sorry when he grew up that he hadn’t been old enough to fight.

The KɪksᴀDi were neutral. They acted as go-betweens and they took care of my grandfather. They acted as though they were the father of the dead men and they burned the house down. My father built nu hit at that place later, because his Wuckitan people were killed there.

Swanton lists Fort House as the only house of the Wuckitan at Sitka. The chief was Dā'tłkêts!ā'tê, "Stomach of Wolf" (Swanton, 1908, p. 405).

Our informant indicated that a peace ceremony was held finally by the Kagwantan and the Wuckitan. When the Alaska Native Brotherhood was founded in 1912, they tried to make peace between the Sitka Kagwantan and the Wrangell people. But this was not achieved until the day before the United States entered World War I (de Laguna, 1933, p. 744).

RECENT HISTORY OF ANGOON

INTRODUCTION

Although some of the events described in the preceding section fall clearly within what would be recognized as modern times by both the white man and the native, and others may be of no great age, yet these belong to sequences of events that are tied to the more remote and uncertain past, or else have been seen through native eyes in much the same way that purely legendary events have been seen. Our sources of information have been largely the traditional histories of the various sibs. We pass now into the more modern history of Angoon, modern either because it is well documented by historical written records, or modern because the episodes fall entirely within the memory of living persons. Our division is not, therefore, strictly chronological.

DESTRUCTION OF ANGOON, 1882

The destruction of Angoon by United States naval forces in 1882 is probably that incident in the community's history which is today most prominent in the minds of the people. All know the story, for it occurred in the childhood of elderly men still living or only recently deceased, and one of the cannon balls with which the town was shelled was found not long ago and reportedly sent to the Territorial Museum in Juneau. The versions of the story, obtained in 1949 and 1950 from an old man who was a boy at the time, and from another man who heard the story from an eyewitness, permit of comparison with various reports by whites.

It is interesting that the natives today, like the author of the volume on Alaska in the Eleventh United States Census of 1890 (Porter, 1893, p. 264), explain that the whole trouble was due to a misunderstanding between whites and natives, that is, ignorance of each other's ways. While no general hostility toward whites is now felt, the Angoon people still believe that they were greviously wronged and are entitled to compensation for their sufferings. This is brought up whenever there is resentment over taxes, restrictive game laws, or encroachment by whites on lands and fishing grounds claimed by the natives. The event is important because it apparently involved all sibs equally, though not, I judge, all families, and has thereby helped to strengthen community solidarity. The event also serves as a time marker, a date to which old people who, of course, do not know their age in years, can refer when qualifying for old-age pensions.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

To understand how Angoon came to be destroyed, it should be remembered that between the purchase of Alaska in 1867 and 1885 there was literally no government of any sort in Alaska, and before that, Russian dominion in southeastern Alaska had never extended outside the fortifications of New Archangel at Sitka. The United States military garrisons which had occupied a few towns since the purchase had been withdrawn early in the summer of 1877, leaving as the only representatives of the Federal Government a customs collector at Sitka and deputy collectors at such towns as Wrangell and Tongas. Some of the latter, like Isaac C. Dennis at Wrangell, assumed more authority than they actually possessed, relying upon bold action and bluff to maintain a semblance of law and order in the town where they were stationed. From time to time, a United States revenue or naval vessel, on a cruise through Alaskan waters, temporarily represented the armed might of the Government. The natives had possessed firearms since the latter part of the 18th century, and were still proud and independent tribes. Those near the towns had been debauched by the Army garrisons, and by the Cassiar miners who made Wrangell their headquarters. Despite laws against the importation of liquor to Alaska, the traders and saloonkeepers had plenty, and the natives had learned how to distill a kind of rum called "hoochenoo," so-called because they had originally been taught by an ex-soldier at Killisnoo. (Swan, 1875, in Morris, 1879, p. 146.)

There had been many clashes between natives and whites, most of which had been provoked by the whites themselves, or brought about indirectly through the white man's liquor (Bancroft, 1886, pp. 606–624; Beardslee, 1882, p. 50). It is quite evident that most of the whites concerned were either ignorant of or lacked sympathy with the Indians' principles of justice which were based upon the payment of damages for any injury, even though accidentally inflicted. The recognition at that time of something equivalent to our present conception of liability, especially of employers' liability, would have prevented most of these affairs from getting out of hand.[36a] Captain Beardslee, commanding the U. S. S. *Jamestown*, stationed at Sitka from June 1879 to September 1880, was one of the few white men in a position of authority who took the trouble to study

> the customs, laws, and superstitions of the Indians, in order that I might be able, through knowledge thus acquired, to reduce the hostility which had arisen between them and the whites, and to bring the two races into harmonious relations. [He was also among the few who could say that the Indians] are not naturally savage [Beardslee, 1882, p. 13]. According to Indian law the man who gets another drunk is responsible for the acts committed by him while in that state, and for his life if he dies or is killed. Thus at the very root of the difficulty I found the acts of bad white men . . . If an Indian dies while in the house of another, or is killed while in the employ of another, the house-owner or employer is responsible. The Indians seldom fail to yield to this, the very foundation of their laws, and a refusal to make equitable settlement is always a cause of war. [Ibid., p. 45.]

This principle, as we shall see, was at the bottom of the trouble at Angoon.

The withdrawal of the Army garrisons in the spring of 1877 left the whites, especially at Sitka, fearful of serious trouble with the Indians. Morris, the special agent for the Treasury, predicted in 1878 that this would eventually come, not from

> any studied plan of revenge for injuries, real or fancied, but will be the result of brutality and oppression upon the part of the white man, and craze, fear, deviltry, and intellect besotted by rum, upon the part of the Indian race [Morris, 1879, p. 126].

Many persons, probably exaggerating the likelihood of an Indian uprising, nevertheless felt like M. P. Berry, Collector of Customs at Sitka in July 1877, that:

> If there is not a vessel dispatched at a very early date to this port, this people will have been handed over bodily for slaughter to the Indians. [Morris, 1879, p. 24.]

The means by which the whites might be protected and the Indians punished for any aggresive act were clearly envisioned. There should be sent to Alaska "an armed vessel . . . able to destroy their villages and canoes as a means of overawing them, because do this, and their accumulation of, perhaps years of toil and industry are swept away, and their very means of livelihood taken from them." [37]

This type of punitive action had already been inflicted upon the Stikine and Kake Indians in 1869. The latter episode is also of interest because it involved at least one Angoon chief, and so it may be mentioned here. In January 1869, the Kakes had murdered, without known provocation, two white men at what became known as Murder Cove, the present site of Tyee Cannery on southern Admiralty Island, and had mutilated the bodies. On January 14 and 15, Lieutenant Commander Meade, commanding the U. S. S. *Saginaw*, destroyed a town and three villages (totaling 35 houses), two stockaded forts, and a number of canoes in Saginaw and Security Bays, Kuiu Island, in reprisal for the murders. Up to 1880 these villages had not been rebuilt (Beardslee, 1882, p. 54). Among the Indians taken prisoner during this raid and confined for a time at Mare Island near San Francisco was the Angoon man "Kitchnath," also known as Saginaw Jake or Killisnoo Jake. He is evidently the chief of the Decitan Steel House. Captain Beardslee, who later assumed command, won his friendship and that of the other prisoners by his fair treatment, and we again meet this Indian in August 1880, now restored to his people, when he was among the chiefs who promised Beardslee not to renew their feud with the Stikine Indians at Wrangell (see p. 154). He is perhaps the "Lonigon Jake" who conferred with Captain Merriman after the destruction of Angoon (see below). Killisnoo Jake later became a native policeman at Killisnoo.

[36a] Cf. Morris, 1879, pp. 131 f., and Beardslee, 1882, pp. 65 f., for examples of cases in which prompt payment of damages was effective.

[37] Capt. J. W. White, commanding the U. S. revenue vessel *Thomas Corwin*, letter of October 4, 1877, in Morris, 1879, p. 139. Morris concurred in this; cf. his letter of April 14, 1877, on p. 22.

It will not be necessary to follow in any detail the course of the various frictions and adjustments between whites and Indians, except to note that it was generally believed that serious trouble between the whites at Sitka and the KɪksAdi had been averted only by the presence at Sitka from March 1 to April 3, 1879, by H. M. S. *Osprey*, that had come in response to an urgent appeal. Captain Beardslee, who came with the U. S. S. *Jamestown* in June of that year, found that the fears of the whites had been greatly exaggerated, and that the leading KɪksAdi chief, "Katlaan" (KaLian), was not only innocent of any plot against the whites, but was actually cooperative in restoring better relations (Beardslee, 1882, pp. 14 f., 45–48). Captain Beardslee was extraordinarily successful in winning the good will of the Indians, by enlisting the Kagwantan chief "Annahootz" and the KɪksAdi chief "Katlaan" in an unofficial police force, by forming a council of chiefs to deal with breaches of the peace committed by the Indians, and by himself acting as arbitrator in their disputes. He did not, however, secure the cooperation of the whites in limiting the sale to the Indians of the ingredients for the manufacture of "hoochenoo" (ibid., pp. 46–48, 50, 55). He formed a rather poor opinion in general of the whites at Sitka and of their ability to manage their own community affairs. Nor did he approve of the arrests ordered by the Customs Collector, M. D. Ball, who was acting as chief magistrate for a "Provisional Government," which was for a time established by the Americans at Sitka, since he felt that the natives and "creoles" (Russian halfbreeds) arrested by Ball, were "more worthy of charity than punishment" (ibid., pp. 27 f.). It should also be added that Captain Beardslee did not share in the belief of many of the whites that extreme punitive action against the natives would be wise. "Further, any bombardment of an Indian village, especially the one at Sitka, would inflict injury upon friends and foes alike, for in nearly every tribe are some families who are friendly, and these are generally the most powerful, they having amassed riches through trade with the whites" (ibid., p. 44). He also quotes with approval a communication from Capt. H. Holmes A'Court, commanding H. M. S. *Osprey*, who writes: "I am also of the opinion that the destruction of the Indian villages is a matter that admits of a question, as there are a great number of friendly Indians, who have lodges and property there, the destruction of which, and possibly loss of some of their lives, would be to make them cast their lot with the others" (ibid., p. 14).

Beardslee's reputation of fair dealing evidently spread among many Indian groups, for he was able to establish friendly relations even with the fierce and arrogant Chilkat (ibid., pp. 57–79) but, as it will become evident, many of the whites felt that his policies were too lax. Commander Merriman, his successor, was to present a great contrast, welcomed by the whites, but all the more irritating to the Indians who had known Beardslee.

In 1878 the Northwest Trading Company established a trading post on Killisnoo ("Kenasnow") Island. The following year the company began in an experimental way the extraction of herring oil and the manufacture of fertilizer ("guano") from the fish remains. In 1880 a whaling station was opened here, because of the presence of many fin-backed whales that fed on the herring, and apparently some of the Angoon people began to settle on Killisnoo Island.[38] In 1880, Edward De Groff was in charge of the trading post; Carl Spuhn and J. M. Vanderbilt were managers of the company at Killisnoo, and the last two were also there in 1882 (Beardslee, 1882, pp. 67, 70).

The troubles between the natives and the whites at Killisnoo which culminated with the destruction of Angoon in 1882, events which occurred only 2 years after the discovery of gold at Juneau and the founding of the mining towns of Juneau and Douglas, had a profound effect upon the history of Alaska. The Congress was no longer able to ignore the pleas for a civil government in the Territory, and in 1884 passed legislation giving to the Territory status as a civil district of the United States. The following year the Territorial Government was really established (Porter, 1893, pp. 19, 264 f.).

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[38] Porter, 1893, p. 238, reports that whaling was discontinued that same year, an obvious error. More correct is the statement on p. 51 that "Killisnoo was first [sic] established as a whaling station, but after difficulties with the natives [in 1882] the catch was changed to herrings."

In telling the story of the destruction of Angoon, we shall first present the reports of the whites, later contrasting them with the Indian versions of the events. The most important documents are those consulted by Bancroft, although his summary is not completely accurate (Bancroft, 1886, p. 619, note 53, p. 744, note 12). These are: a letter from M. A. Healy, First Lieutenant of the United States Revenue Marine (Coast Guard), commanding the *Corwin*, November 20, 1882; a letter from Wm. Gouverneur Morris, Collector of Customs at Sitka, October 28, 1882, who was aboard the *Corwin*; the report of Comdr. E. C. Merriman, USN., commanding the U. S. S. *Adams*, October 28, 1882, who was in charge of the expedition. The latter includes orders to Lieut. C. W. Bartlett, USN, dated October 23, 26, and 29. Also of interest is a letter by Mrs. Eugene S. Willard, a missionary's wife, written at Sitka on October 30, 1882, and evidently based on conversations with Commander Merriman.

LETTER OF MORRIS

Morris, collector of customs at Sitka, who accompanied the punitive expedition, was evidently in accord with the severe measures taken. He reports that the Navy had been trying to suppress the Indian custom of demanding compensation, usually in blankets, for injury to an Indian, either by another native or by a white man. He writes:

> Shortly previous to the case at bar, whilst an Indian was cutting down a tree for the Northwest Trading Company at Killisnoo, he was warned of the danger, and continued in a position of peril. The tree fell and killed him. Immediately a certain number of blankets were levied as a fine upon the company by his relatives, and payment demanded. The company refused, of course. Matters remained *in status quo* until the Adams, Commander Merriman, arrived in these waters. He touched at Killisnoo on his way to this port [Sitka], and complaint was made to him of this exaction, by the superintendent of the company. He informed the Indians that in the future no such payments should either be demanded or enforced as far as white men were concerned; that if they persisted in such course he would punish them severely, and that in this instance the company would and should not pay. They submitted with bad grace.
>
> On the night of October 22, whilst this company were whaling in the Kootzenoo Lagoon, a bomb, shot from the whaleboat at a whale, accidentally exploded and killed an Indian *shaman*, who composed one of the crew; whereupon the latter immediately arose, and aided by about one hundred Indians, overpowered the two white men in the boat and took them prisoners; captured the boat, nets, whaling gear, and steam launch of the company, valued at several thousand dollars, and demanded payment of two hundred blankets for the dead man. The white men were kept close prisoners. A plan was formed to murder the engineer of the launch, who fortunately did not take the trail expected.

Lieutenant Healy's briefer account adds only the information that the Northwestern Trading Company refused payment, and that the Indians then threatened to burn the store, other buildings, and boats, and to kill the two white men.

To continue with Morris' letter:

> Capt. J. M. Vanderbilt, the superintendent, at once got up steam on the company's tugboat Favorite, and started with his family post haste to Sitka for aid from the naval commander. The Indians endeavored to cut off the Favorite, but failed.
>
> As soon as Vanderbilt reported the facts to Commander Merriman, the latter put a howitzer and Gatling gun on the Favorite, sought the co-operation of the revenue steamer Corwin, then in port, and as early as practicable, with a force of about one hundred marines and sailors, started for the scene of action, picking up his steam launch on the way. I accompanied the expedition.
>
> Upon arriving at the lagoon, matters were found exactly as represented by Vanderbilt; the men still prisoners; the Indians increasing in force and very much excited. Commander Merriman lost no time in arresting the ringleaders and got the two principal chiefs of the tribe on board the Corwin, and informed them that, instead of the Northwest Trading Company paying anything to them, he should inflict upon them a fine of four hundred blankets, payable the next morning, under penalty of having their canoes destroyed and principal village shelled and burnt.
>
> So temporizing has been the policy pursued within the past two years by the Navy [i. e., by Beardslee] toward the Siwashes [39] that they evidently thought this a game of bluff. They were surly and impertinent, and affected not to think that Commander Merriman would put his threat into execution. They, however, took precautions to make use of the intervening night in taking to a place of security their large canoes and valuables.
>
> On the following day, the Indians having failed to come to time, Commander Merriman made good his threat, destroyed their canoes, shelled and burned their village.

Morris concludes that there was

> the absolute necessity . . . for such harsh measures being adopted . . . The Hoochenoos are a rich and warlike tribe, very insolent and saucy towards the whites. Not long ago they proceeded to Wrangell and attacked the church Indians there, killing several, amongst them Toyatt, a missionary Indian, a very useful and intelligent man . . .
>
> Once let it be understood by the Siwashes that the life of a white man is sacred, and that they will be severely handled if they harm him, there will be no danger or difficulty in small parties [of miners] traversing the country in search of mineral and other wealth. [Morris seems to have forgotten that Captain Beardslee by more peaceful means made just this possible, even to securing permission from the unfriendly Chilkats for miners to use their routes into the interior (Beardslee, 1882, pp. 59–66)].

REPORT OF COMMANDER MERRIMAN

This report includes the orders given to Lieut. C. W. Bartlett, USN, commanding expedition to Kenasnow Rapids (Kootznahoo Inlet).

The first part adds little not already covered by Morris' letter, except the statement that the Indians threatened that "they would kill the white men and destroy the fishing steamer and boats unless paid two hundred blankets."

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[39] Although this word for Indian is presumably an ordinary word in Chinook jargon, it carries a connotation, both to whites and Indians, of contempt.

As soon as Commander Merriman had received Vanderbilt's report, he organized a force of 50 men and 20 marines, under Lieutenant Bartlett of the U. S. S. *Adams,* and sent him in the tug boat *Favorite* toward Angoon. On the way they were to pick up a party in the *Adam*'s steam launch, *Jamestown*, under Ensign H. Taylor, who were surveying in Neoski Strait (Whilistone Narrows). The revenue steamer *Corwin* was then coaling at Sitka, and her commanding officer offered his ship to Merriman, because the *Adams* was felt to be too big to operate at Angoon. The *Favorite* got underway about 3 a. m., and the *Corwin,* with Captain Healy, Commander Merriman, and Mr. Morris, left at 7 a. m. on October 24. They overtook the *Favorite* and the steam launch, taking the latter in tow, and though delayed by bad weather in Peril Strait, reached Killisnoo Harbor ("Keteosoh Harbor") on the 25th of October

> to see if the Indians had molested the stores of the merchants. I found them all absent, and that none of the Indians were allowed to work, and that they still held possession of the white men, the steamer and the boats.[40]
>
> We immediately steamed around to the lagoon [Kootznahoo Inlet] where the property and people were detained. I held a powwow with the Indians, Lieutenant Bartlet and Ensign Taylor in the meantime collecting all the canoes they could find. The Indians demanded two hundred blankets in payment for the accidental death of the medicine-man.
>
> For instance, if our surgeon attended a sick man, and he died, they would demand pay. If a boat capsized and drowned an Indian, they make the man who originally directed the boat to be built pay for the man if they can get him, otherwise the present owner has to suffer.
>
> I had explained to them on my previous visit the fallacy of any claim where the death was purely accidental. I ascertained that they had attempted to destroy the boats, and that they were only waiting for another white man to put two to death. One of the men captured had but one eye, and they wanted a whole one, or one with two eyes. I told them I demanded a fine of four hundred blankets, or double what they tried to get, and gave them twenty-four hours to bring them in.
>
> They said they would do so, but went to the village of Angoon, drew their canoes up in the woods, took their winter food and blankets and their women and children with them and sent me word that they would not furnish the blankets; that if we attempted to land they would fire on us, and would defend the town if we attempted to burn it. I then sent the chiefs to tell them if they did not furnish the blankets I would destroy their canoes and shell the town.
>
> When the time was up [October 26], after ascertaining without their knowledge that their women and children were in the woods, I proceeded to the village [Angoon], after capturing two of the leaders. As soon as the village was in range, the Corwin opened fire, and the Favorite following, opened fire with the howitzer, she having previously destroyed the canoes and the principal houses in the lagoon.[41] I purposely spared some houses, although apparently accidentally, sufficient to house the Indians for the winter. After shelling the town for a time,

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[40] The following division into paragraphs has been made in Merriman's unbroken narrative.

[41] Healy specified that 40 canoes were destroyed but that the houses of friendly Indians were spared. Bancroft (1886, p. 723, note 12) identifies the houses in the lagoon as being at Killisnoo, but it is clear from the context that they were in Kootznahoo Inlet, at such places as Turn, Sullivan, and Channel Points.

> Lieutenant Bartlett landed his force in the Corwin's boats and our whale boat, and fired the village, sparing five additional houses . . .

Merriman's orders to Bartlett on October 26 were to go up the "lagoon" (Inlet) behind Angoon with the *Favorite* and *Jamestown*, rescue the employees of the Northwest Trading Company that were held prisoner, and to retake the steam launch and other company property from the Indians. The latter would probably try to board the *Favorite*, thinking that only the company employees were aboard.

> Treat the Indians kindly if they show a peaceful disposition . . . Should the Indians show fight attack them vigorously.

Meanwhile the *Corwin* was to come off the Chatham Strait side of Angoon. Signals indicating that an attack was beginning were specified; if given, the other party would go to the aid of the one beginning the attack.

> Get possession of every canoe you can, and get all the Indians to come to the white settlement possible . . . Should the Indians forcibly resist after knowing your intentions, do not hesitate; open fire at once, and I will immediately come to your support in the Corwin. Use all diplomacy possible first, however.

Healy's report would indicate that the two white men and the company property were released immediately upon the arrival of the *Corwin* at Angoon, and that Merriman *then* made his demand for 400 blankets. Yet the orders to Bartlett show that the white men and the company's property were still in the possession of the Indians for a good 24 hours after the demand had been made for the blankets. It is probable that they were rescued by Bartlett while the *Corwin* was shelling Angoon. It is a rather puzzling matter that Commander Merriman did not attempt to rescue the white men sooner, for surely his demand for an indemnity would have been likely to enrage the Indians and so further endanger their lives. Furthermore, he nowhere reports specifically that he tried to secure the release of the prisoners at his first meeting with the Indians. Nor does he tell us specifically that the men actually were rescued, much less when, or in what condition they were found. He seems throughout to have been far more concerned with fining and punishing the Indians. His narrative continues:

> After burning the town I directed the Indians to come to the trading post where I would talk to them. A crowd came about 8 p. m., with the Chief Kenalkos [Chief of the Decitan tuqa hıt] and Loginon Jake [Chief of the Decitan Steel House ?]. I told them in substance what I had said before, that while the government felt friendly to them and wanted them to till the soil and fish and hunt, and would protect them in pursuing their peaceful avocations, it would put down with a vigorous hand any attempt to seize and injure white men or their property, or to distill rum. They replied that they would never attempt anything of the kind again; that the old men and chiefs had tried to restrain the young men, but were unable to do so; that as a lesson to the young men and

squaws they were glad I had burned the village [!]. To those who had rendered service to the whites by protecting them I gave small presents. To one old medicine-man and a herculean squaw, who had quietly brought their guns to the white men's cabins and declared their intention of defending them and the property of the trading company, I gave letters, with large seals attached, recounting their services. I am told they think more of these than anything else, as it gives them much importance in the tribes.

Lieutenant Bartlett returns to Killisnoo tomorrow [October 30] with a detachment of twenty-five men, and will remain during the fishing season, or about three weeks. I have directed Lieutenant Bartlett to proceed to the village of Neltushkin, about 14 miles below Kilisloo, and raid the village for distilleries, as they are making large quantities of koo-che-hoo there. I have further directed him to call the headmen and as many of the tribe as possible together, and tell them that they must look upon the man-of-war as their best friend if they behave themselves, and to assure them of our protection and care, but that they must not make rum or interfere with the white men fishing, as they have threatened to cut the seines if any fishing is done there except themselves; but I do not apprehend any difficulty whatever.

Orders given to Bartlett at Sitka on October 29 said that at Killisnoo:

You will in every way possible endeavor to bring about a friendly feeling on the part of the Indians, and as far as possible among themselves, and encourage their sending their boys over here to school.

At Neltushkin:

As they may not understand properly the cause of our burning Angoon, you will explain it to them and make them feel that the government is friendly to them, but will put down quickly any attempt at making or selling liquor, or any disturbance. You will also do everything in your power to induce them to send their children to school . . . If obliged to resort to extreme measures you must use your judgment.

LETTER OF MRS. WILLARD

Mrs. Willard, the missionary's wife, wrote from Sitka on October 30, 1882 (Willard, 1884, pp. 237–239):

They are having great trouble in Kill-is-noo, about halfway between here and Chilcat, where the North-west Trading Company have their chief post, store, and great whale-fishery and oil-works. While they were putting up the wharf in the spring, one of the Indians was accidentally killed by the falling of a tree. As he was in the company's employ, of course, in the eyes of Indian law, they were responsible, and a payment of two hundred blankets was demanded. The company agreed to pay forty, but Captain Merriman, of the man-of-war Adams, ordered that no payment should be made.[42]

Things have gone on, until Sabbath before last, when the launch and whaleboat were out after a whale, a harpoon-bomb burst, and one of the Indians—a medicine-man—was killed. In a very short time about three hundred of the tribe had surrounded the boats, which they captured, taking the white men prisoners.

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[42] It seems likely that 40 blankets would have been accepted by the Indians. It seems to have been customary to demand more than was expected or felt necessary, and similar cases of accidental death had been settled at Sitka for about an equal number of blankets.

> The captain of the launch made out to send a line of advice to Captain Vanderbilt, in the village, that they would take the Favorite too. The note was carried by one of the Indians who had been in the boat with the medicine-man and escaped to the woods from his people. Captain Vanderbilt at once conveyed his family to the Favorite, and leaving in the night, ran down here for the man-of-war. Arriving the next evening, he left his family and started back at twelve o'clock the same night, accompanied by the Corwin, in charge of Captain Merriman and his force. Four hundred blankets were demanded for taking the whites prisoners. The Indians said they would not pay. The captain gave the people two hours to remove their things, then commanded the guns to fire; and away went the village, all but four houses which he wished saved; forty canoes were broken. He said "if he was called there to settle any more such troubles there would not be a man left to tell there ever was such a tribe." The effect of this on our people will be of the utmost moment to us [i. e. she is worried about the future attitude of the Chilkats towards herself and her husband]; but the Lord is God and will care for his own work.

Bancroft also consulted an account in the San Francisco Bulletin, November 13, 1882. This is perhaps the source of the statement that the huts which had remained standing after the shelling were looted and then burned by the landing party (Bancroft, 1886, p. 619, note 55).

ANGOON VERSIONS

The following accounts of the destruction of Angoon were obtained from the natives. The first is a statement made by an elderly man, who said he was 14 years old and was in Favorite Bay at the time. He spoke through an interpreter in 1949. The second version was obtained from this same man in 1950 on a wire recorder, and different interpreters translated his speech from the wire. The third version is compiled from remarks made on two different occasions by one of the interpreters.

VERSION 1

At that time they used to do whaling at the factory at Killisnoo. It was before the time when the herring plant was started there. A whale came up inside Kootznahoo Inlet. When they fired at it, the whale gun exploded, and a piece hit a medicine man on the head and killed him. He was ‘tił'ʟen, "Big Dog Salmon" [the informant's uncle. The informant's older brother is named after him]. The people went to work afterwards and tied up the boat. They wanted the boat to stop whaling until the dead man was buried.

The white people at Killisnoo got scared and sent word to Sitka that the Indians were preparing for war. This was not true. They only wanted the boat quiet for two days until they buried him. He was an important man. The Tlingit didn't know what the whites wanted until the Coast Guard came out and they heard the shells and saw the smoke. They were up the Inlet getting herring. They used to have root cellars back of the community [lineage] houses. [The implication is that when these burned it made a lot of smoke.] Then this place, Angoon, was already burning. Six children died from the smoke.

The boat called the *Favorite* led the Coast Guard into the Inlet. They went up Favorite Bay after they burned the village and got all the people's canoes and chopped them up. The people stayed where they were. They couldn't move down, and everything they had at Angoon was gone. People lived that winter on oil they had put up, and went hunting, and caught fish in the streams. They suffered plenty.

The interpreter added that her father, the informant, was about 16 years old at the time. He doesn't like to think about it. The informant added that he wants someone to do something about it. He thinks the people ought to get something for their sufferings.

VERSION 2

This account was recorded in Tlingit on wire in 1950 by the same man who gave the first version in 1949. The following translation has been compiled from the translations given by four interpreters who heard the wire recording. It is not only a rather free translation, but also probably a repetitious one.

I would like you to hear me, respectable people. We have been living here at Angoon for a long time, for many years. At first the beaver's trail ran across this isthmus. That is why we moved over to this place from different towns. We came together from tcukudi [unidentified], from gᴇx̣̓ᴇt‘ᴜ-’án [Stillwater Anchorage], from k‘et’ɪntci-’an [Killisnoo Harbor], from cᴀtxiwustin-’an [Sullivan Point]. We all moved together to make one village. It was a pleasing place. That was a long time ago.

I am already an old man. I was a young man when our village was spoiled. White people spoiled it. They left us homeless on the beach. I know it well, the history of our town, Angoon. My name is Łanguc-’u, "Homeless Raven." That is the man who is telling you the story now, who never received any help from the Government.

But there is no help from anywhere, from the Government. See how our lives are. We never received help from anything. The Government helped other towns with many things, but it has never yet helped us.

You will think about my story. If you wish, you can question me about the burning of our town, Angoon. If you wish, I will repeat the same thing again. (Some might think this was a made-up story, but it was driven into my head and I know it is the truth.)[43] You have already heard why this is our town, why we went to Angoon. It was a good site. I am going to tell you the story of how Angoon was burned.

I was thirteen years old when they burned this town. I do not know what month it was when the white men moved to Killisnoo. There were many people at Killisnoo at that time. But I know they were packing herring at Killisnoo. They were fishing herring inside of Angoon. They were killing whales, too. Whales were plentiful. At Killisnoo, they called this man, Mr. Spuhn; he was operating it.

So that whale came up there and they shot it. The whale gun exploded. One man was hit in the head. That was my mother's brother. He was a doctor. Then they stopped whaling when that gun killed him. We Tlingit lived in that way. If there was an accident, they stopped all work for two days, one day, until after the burial [cremation]. Then they resumed everything they had been doing. That is the way the people have lived from time immemorial.

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[43] Clauses given by only one interpreter and which may therefore represent his comments rather than a translation are in parentheses.

That is what they did. They stopped it, the boat and the gun that killed him, until they [should?] bury him, and then they [would?] start again.

So then Mr. Spuhn wrote a letter about the people, and wrote to have the Coast Guard come here to punish the people. That is the way in which he sent his message. That is why the Coast Guard came from Sitka. At that time we did not understand the white people as we do now. We did not have the knowledge. When they (the revenue cutter) came, they started shooting at the town. (The shots were fired right among the people. Even now, when they were fixing the road, they found some shells in the ground, the ones they shot.) [The informant evidently refers to the finding of a shell a few years ago.]

At that time, the people were living on the other side [on Kootznahoo Inlet]. They were putting up herring. When the boat came to that side, they [the Coast Guard] smashed up all the Indian canoes—broke them up. No more [totally destroyed]. And then they started the burning. No more. When the Coast Guard came back they set the town afire. They were anchored right outside the village. No more. My mother said to me, "Do you understand what is happening"? And I said, "Yes, I understand."

Six children—no more [totally destroyed]. They were suffocated by the smoke, the ones that stayed in the village. The smoke killed them. All the food was destroyed: blankets, clothing, many houses—no more. Nothing was saved. Countless things in the houses were all burned up.

I did not see why this happened, what it was that made them treat us like that. (I did not hear the reason for this trouble.) We were defenseless, but they came to punish us for nothing. They took everything out of the houses aboard the Coast Guard boat. They said it was punishment. See how great our trouble was. I am going to be silent for a while.

[Here the speaker paused for a few moments, overcome with emotion.]

Now hear what I am telling.

When the fall was coming, when the winter was beginning, the people of Angoon nearly starved to death, all of them. How much we suffered! You who are listening to me are listening to the voice of one who is talking about himself [his own experiences].

I am going to add something of my own—a moral. If a man did that, if a Tlingit did that to someone, what would you say, Government? If someone did this to you? This is what I ask you: what are you going to say if someone did this to *you*?

That is all. That is the end of the story of how trouble came to us and we never received help [compensation] from the Government. That is the end.

[After consultation with his Tlingit listeners and with us, the informant added the following:]

You have been listening to my words. You are white people and we are Tlingit. You have taken a black cloth and covered our eyes with it, hiding [?] our land. The Tlingit did not tell you [give you permission] to take all of Alaska. You bought it from the Russians, but not all of it, only the places that the Russians owned. That was what you bought. Ever since I was small, this is what I heard.

This is our land. They always tell us, [for] any land we claim, anything we take from it—we have to pay you taxes. Even if we kill a deer, it is not good for us. The bears are killing all the deer; the wolves are killing them off; the coyotes are killing them off.[44] See how everything is being killed. You white people, see how much you have destroyed!

The things in the water, you have destroyed. Even last year, they are killing by burning things. They are burning the herring [for fertilizer]. How is it?

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[44] This is obscure but may mean that the game laws protect the predators.

Many wrong things are confronting us. It is against the law [of nature] because the herring are food for the fish. And things that live back in the woods, deer, the things we eat, you take it away from us. There is nothing that we can do now.

But just the same, whenever there is going to be war, you take our children by the hand without a word. You take them for death. I do not know why. You take the children, all those boys, to fight for you, for your country. We cannot say anything. There is nothing we can say.

When you are going to make laws, you never consult us Tlingit. You never tell us there is going to be a law made. You make it in secret, and then just tell us that the law is made (and force it upon us). See how you are treating us, you white men.

We, who are old people, always feel very sad. Myself, I'm not strong enough to kill anything [go hunting] any more. I'm all through. I am speaking for the last time. This is the end of my speech, of my words.

One interpreter at Angoon complained that the speaker skipped back and forth in telling the story, making it hard to translate. He had particular difficulty in tracing the movements of the boats in the destruction of Angoon, and in this respect had the same trouble as Bancroft in following the action. He also thinks that the version is not quite accurate. The late A. K., he said, could really tell the story. The following version is based on remarks made by this interpreter, both following his translation of the recording and on another occasion.

VERSION 3

The whites sent word to the marine base at Sitka. The *Pinta* [45] bombarded the village of Angoon because the natives in Favorite Bay had tied up the whaling boat and were holding the crew for ransom to pay for the support of the family of the slain man. A. K., now dead, was a small boy then, and used to tell the story. [1949.]

The Indians had wanted compensation for the killing and had held two white men as hostages—not as "deer"—but as prisoners of war until payment for the death of the medicine man was made. Mr. Spuhn sent a letter to Sitka—Sitka was the oldest post office in Alaska, and Killisnoo was the second oldest—that the Indians were uprising. When the *Pinta* came they demanded indemnity, and fired the town without asking to hear what was the trouble. They should have had a conference with the Indians first.

The hostages, he thinks, were held up in Favorite Bay, in the cove above Garnes Point, where there used to be an old tribal house. It was where Joseph Lee (now dead) later had a cabin and boathouse, and he thinks the house belonged to the Kagwantan.

The men whaling at Killisnoo were Germans. (Mr. Spuhn certainly was.)

The Indians are mistaken in the way they are trying to sue the Government for compensation for the destruction of Angoon. You can't just ask for money; you must have a case. He feels that their case should be based on the shock which warped the minds of the people, so that the seed of the parents who had suffered became defective, and the children are the victims of this. On the other hand, the wealth that they lost would not now be considered much. A listener

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[45] While there was a revenue steamer of this name in Alaskan waters at a later date, she was not in any way involved in the destruction of Angoon in 1882.

> to the conversation protested that the people did lose tribal treasures which they valued very highly. [1950.]
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> Another informant said that the sailors took thousands of dollars worth of Hudson Bay blankets and furs from the houses before they burned Angoon. His oldest brother was one of the seven (?) children who died in the smoke. He also feels that the Government ought to pay damages to Angoon.

HISTORIC SKETCHES OF ANGOON

No history of Angoon would be complete without mention of the impression made by Angoon and Killisnoo upon various white visitors. It is obviously not the purpose of this monograph to present a discussion of the acculturation of the Angoon people, but the glimpses we receive of them through the writings of explorers and others help us to understand the actual development of their history.

ANGOON IN 1794

We are unfortunately unable to identify the settlement visited by Vancouver's Lieutenant Whidbey in the summer of 1794, for parts of the description would fit Thayer Creek north of Angoon, other parts Angoon itself, and still others no locality in the vicinity. Yet the account obviously refers to a settlement somewhere between Point Parker and Killisnoo Island; and Angoon, despite difficulties, seems to be the most likely place intended (Vancouver, 1801, vol. 5, pp. 439–446).

> A league to the S. E. of point Parker,[46] in one of these bays is an opening about the eighth part of a mile wide, where many of the natives in their canoes were assembled. [In order to reload the guns with fresh powder, Lieutenant Whidbey ordered them discharged.] This soon after produced a discharge of nearly an equal number from the Indians on shore; but as the boats approached the opening, the canoes were all hastily paddled off by the natives and soon disappeared.
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> In the entrance five fathoms water was found, and after advancing about half a mile it proved to be only a shallow rocky place, having a small part of its southern side an island at high water. On each side of the entrance some new habitations were constructing, and for the first time during our intercourse with the North West American Indians, in the vicinity of these habitations were found some square patches of ground in a state of cultivation, producing a plant that appeared to be a species of tobacco; and which, we understood, is by no means uncommon amongst the inhabitants of Queen Charlotte's islands, who cultivate much of this plant. On the return of the boats the Indians again made their appearance in a large body, headed by a chief who manifested a friendly disposition, by frequently taking up and laying down his musket, and making signs that those in the boats should do the same. On this being complied with, he sent a young man dressed in a scarlet coat and blue trowsers to invite our party on shore.

Lieutenant Whidbey declined the invitation, but indicated that he wanted some fish. About 500 Indians, men, women and children, came out in canoes to trade, but as soon as Whidbey pointed out to the chief the inconvenience of such a crowd, the chief made a short speech which induced them all to return to shore, and he himself "sent out an abundant supply of fish to the boats, for which kindness a handsome reward was sent back, and Mr. Whidbey pursued his researches."

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[46] Thayer Creek is 3 miles southeast of Point Parker, but is not in a bay, although a small island lies south of it.

About 10 miles from Point Parker, the party passed and named Point Samuel (Killisnoo Island) and entered Hood Bay. While having a meal on the "fourth point of this bay," the party were visited by 14 small canoes from the same tribe, who had come to offer sea-otter skins in trade, "of which they had great abundance, and many were thrown into the boats, for which they thankfully received any trifling article of wearing apparel in return." Their canoes were in general like those of Nootka, "although they were better contrived, far more serviceable, and infinitely neater than any of that sort which we had seen on this coast." [Does this reflect the Haida canoe-building tradition of the 'Anx̣̓akhıtan?] "They conducted themselves with the greatest good humour, and the strictest honesty; and seemed to be infinitely more inclined to dispose of their sea otter skins than of their fish." From them Whidbey learned that the opposite shore of Chatham Strait

> was composed of several islands which they had recently passed through, and had traded with vessels in some port on the exterior coast, from whence they produced most of the European commodities they had about them, consisting chiefly of wearing apparel; of which, coats and cloth trousers seemed by them to be preferred to every other article, excepting arms and ammunition: copper and iron being reduced to a very inferior value.

Whidbey's party then passed two small bays (Chaik and Whitewater Bays) and camped in a small cove in latitude 57°13′ (just north of the cliff with pictographs, between Whitewater Bay and Wilson Cove). "Soon after dark they were visited by some Indians, who, on being given to understand that their company was not desired, quietly departed." On their return north, the party "passed close by the village of the friendly Indians, but not one of them was seen, and it is most probable that the badness of the weather had confined them to their habitations."

ANGOON IN 1875

James G. Swan, who had gone to Alaska on the *Wolcott*, in the summer of 1875, to get curios for exhibit at the Centenial Exposition, wrote in his report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs about his visit to Angoon in the latter part of June:

> The following morning we reached Kootznoo point and village, on the northeast side of Chatham Strait, east from Lindenburg Harbor. We found the village regularly laid out in streets, lanes, and alleys. The houses were surrounded with

garden patches planted in rows, well heaped up to admit of drainage. Each garden was fenced in, and each had narrow strips of bark stretched across from fence to fence over each bed to keep off the crows, which are exceedingly numerous and great pests. These wary birds, however, are always on the alert for a trap or a snare, and the strips of bark make them think the fowler has spread his net for them, and they keep away. This delusion is kept up by the Indians, who hang up the carcasses of several dead crows in each garden patch, tying their legs to the bark lines as if they had been caught in that position. It is a simple and very effectual contrivance. The Indians raise most excellent potatoes at this place.

Although most of the tribe were absent on a hunt, there were quite a number present, who beset me with entreaties for a missionary and a teacher, and I promised them, as I had done the others, that I would present their case to the Indian Bureau.

I procured several articles of these Indians, most of them of ancient date. [Swan, in Morris, 1879, p. 147.]

ANGOON IN 1879

John Muir, the naturalist, while traveling with the Reverend Hall Young, visited "the first of the Hootsenoo villages on Admiralty Island"—either at Whitewater or, more probably, at Chaik Bay—where the party was entertained. They refused some of the native food offered, but did eat raw turnips and potatoes. The latter, "the size of walnuts, boiled and peeled and added to a potfull of salmon, made a savory stew that all seemed to relish." This village was 10 miles from Killisnoo, from which the chief had removed his people because of quarrels. The next day they arrived at the "upper village" (Killisnoo or Angoon, probably the latter), where the natives were on "a howling drunk." The houses were in a row, "the largest house, just opposite the landing, was about forty feet square, built of immense planks, each hewn from a whole log, and, as usual, the only opening was a mere hole about two and a half feet in diameter, closed by a massive hinged plug like the breech of a cannon" (Muir, 1915, pp. 130, 132).

KILLISNOO IN 1890

Killisnoo, on the little island of Kenasnow, just off the Admiralty shore, is the site of a large factory for the manufacture of herring oil and fish guano.[47] Killisnoo was first established as a whaling station, but after difficulties with the natives the catch was changed to herrings, which are much more easily secured and managed. During the winter season schools of herrings fill Chatham straits for miles, and a steam tender tows scows to and from the seining grounds, even bringing the fish from Peril straits and Sitka sound. 1,000 tons of guano and over 150,000 gallons of oil are produced each year. During the past season a bark was loaded at Killisnoo with a cargo of guano for Liverpool, being the first

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[47] Guano, "a fish fertilizer, which is shipped chiefly to the Sandwich Islands" (Hawaii) from Killisnoo (Porter, 1893, p. 226). It will be remembered that the trading station of the Northwest Trading Company was established here in 1878, that the manufacture of fish oil and fertilizer was begun in an experimental way the next year, and whaling was started in 1880 (ibid., p. 238). These statements do not quite correspond with the passage being quoted.

> ship to clear from southeastern Alaska for a foreign port loaded entirely with Alaskan products. The Killisnoo factory and settlement constitute the model industrial establishment on the coast. It is well built and tidily kept, the cottages and log cabins of the employees standing on the cleared level of the beach, and a Greek chapel and a government school house on the high terrace above them. Almost the whole island has been cleared of trees and many garden patches are cultivated. Some 45 of the Hutznahu tribe are employed in the factory, and the old chief Saginaw Jake [Chief of Steel House], as native policeman, maintains order among these people and in the villages tributary to this trading post and settlement. [Porter, 1893, p. 51.]

The Alaska Oil and Guano Company acquired the property in January 1887, and that season achieved the maximum production of 380,000 gallons of herring oil. The business of salting herring was begun in 1888, with 100 barrels put up; by 1890 the demand exceeded the pack of 500 barrels and it was planned to increase the output of this product. In 1891 the company had 3 steam tugs, 5 scows, and 2 fishing gangs of 12 men each. There were 35 white men employed at the factory, and about 28 natives hired as fishermen at $1.50 a day or as laborers at $1.00 a day. There were also two Chinese cooks. "A considerable number of natives supply the company with over 1,000 cords of spruce and hemlock for fuel" at $2.50 and $2.25 a cord (ibid., pp. 238 f.).

> A large part of the whole Hoochinoo tribe is at various times employed by the oil company during the season, which begins about July 15 and ends about January 1, and during that time the native population at Killisnoo is about 100. The larger part of the income of the Hoochinoos is derived from the company, and their primitive food supply of fish, game, and berries is largely supplemented by foodstuffs purchased at the company's store. Nearly every family of Hoochinoos is provided with a garden, potatoes and turnips being the principal crops. A large number of deerskins are sold to the company. [Ibid., p. 239.]

In addition to the English bark *Martha Fisher*, chartered in 1891 for taking guano to Liverpool, Killisnoo was regularly visited by the steamers of the Pacific Coast Steamship Company, carrying mail, passengers, and freight between San Francisco, Portland, Puget Sound ports and such Alaskan towns as Juneau, Douglas, Sitka, and Killisnoo. While there was monthly service during the winter, this was increased to provide weekly trips during the excursion season between May and September, "to accommodate the tourists, who armed with Kodak and notebook, annually invade the wilds of Alaska in ever increasing numbers" (Porter, 1893, p. 241; cf. also pp. 259, 239).

"The public school building at Killisnoo was built by the government in 1888." In 1890 it "reported 1 female teacher and 35 pupils, 15 boys and 20 girls, with an average daily attendance of 15 for the 180 days of the school year. A very small school connected with the Russian church at this place furnished no report." "The maximum attendance (35) during the census year seems very small considering the large native population in the vicinity" (ibid., pp. 189, 239).

"The Russian chapel at Killisnoo [built in 1889], situated up on a bluff behind the settlement, is a neat little ediface kept in good repair, but the place has been supplied with a priest only intermittently." "Although there is no resident priest, an extraordinary propaganda has been maintained, and a large proportion of the Hoochinoo tribe are nominally converts to that faith" (ibid., pp. 181, 239).

Census data for 1890 give a total population for the "Hutznahu tribe" as 420 (235 males, 185 females). The population of Angoon ("Hoochinoo") was 381 (200 males, 181 females), with 22 houses sheltering 113 families. At Killisnoo lived 79 persons: 31 male and 13 female whites, 2 male Mongoloids, and 18 male and 15 female Indians. Here there were 18 houses and 29 families, but since the population was mixed these latter figures tell us nothing about the patterns of aboriginal residence. No mention is made of other native settlements or villages in the area (ibid., pp. 3, 158, 163).

ANGOON HOUSES

From the native point of view the history of Angoon can be considered to some extent as consisting of the histories of the lineages or houses that make up its sibs. For this reason, we include information about Angoon houses, although it is far from complete.

In 1881–82, according to Krause, there were 12 lineage houses at Angoon, 6 belonging to the Raven Decitan sib, and 3 each to the Wuckitan and DAqł'awedi sibs of the Eagle-Wolf moiety. At that time the 'Anx̣̓akhıtan and Teqʷedi were living at Whitewater Bay according to this report (Krause, 1885, pp. 118 ff.)

An unpublished manuscript of the late George T. Emmons reports 94 native dwellings at Angoon in 1890, and lists the following named lineage houses. The numbers in parenthesis refer to the locations of the modern houses of the same names on the map of Angoon (fig. 17).

Raven moiety:
- Decitan:
    - Cold Spring House (7)
    - Flicker House (?) [48]
    - House Standing Sidewise (9)
    - Raven House (10)
    - Steel House (8)
    - End of Village House (16 ?), or Pit Cache House (17 ?)
- 'Anx̣̓akhıtan:
    - House in Middle of the Town (6)
    - Dog Salmon House (?)

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[48] Flicker House was not mentioned by any other source. Swanton, 1908, pp. 400, 401, lists houses of that name at Tongas and Kulu, but both belonging to the Eagle-Wolf moiety.

Eagle-Wolf moiety:
- Teqʷedi:
  - Bear House (5), with a totem pole beside it, surmounted by a bear (pl. 2, *b*).
  - Bear House (?)
- Dᴀqł'awedi:
  - Killer Whale House (4), with painted front (pl. 2, *b*)
  - Killer Whale House (3), with painted front
  - Killer Whale House (2)
- Wᴜckitan:
  - Fort House (12).

On the basis of information gathered at Sitka and Wrangell in 1904, Swanton lists 7 houses at Angoon (Swanton, 1908, pp. 399, 403). The list is evidently not complete. It is given below, and again the numbers in parenthesis refer to locations on the accompanying sketch map (fig. 17).

Raven moiety:
- Dē′citān, people of the end-of-road house
  - Yēł hît, Raven house (10)
  - Dē′cu hît, house at end of road (11)
  - Gūn hît, spring house (7)
- Togyē′dî, outlet people, so called because they lived at the outlet of a lake—part of above. [No house is given. Conceivably reference is made to the Basket Bay branch of the Decitan.]
- Ānq!a′kitān or Q!ā′kitān, people of the house in the middle of the valley [sic. Our informants specified the middle of the village, 'an].
  - Ānq!ā′ k hît, house in the middle of the valley (6)

Eagle-Wolf moiety:
- Wuckitā′n, people with houses on top of one another
  - Nū hît, fort house (12)
- Dᴀqʟ!awe′dî
  - Kīt hît, killer-whale house (2,3, or 4)
- Te′qoedî, people of Teq°
  - X̣uts! hît, grizzly-bear house (5)

Andrew Davis, a native resident of Angoon, compiled a list of lineage houses in 1928, together with the names of their chiefs and the principal crests associated with them. Later, when some of the house heads had died, he penciled in the names of their successors or of the persons occupying the houses. This list which he kindly let us copy is given below. Again, numbers in parenthesis refer to locations on the sketch map (fig. 17).

Day-she-tarn, main symbol Raven:
- Goon-hit, clear spring water house, a hat used to indicate symbol shelter of a tree; Little Jack. (7)
- Shteen-hit, named for a slave, Shteen; Charlie Andanott. (8)
- Took-ka-hit, (?); John Paul. (9)
- Yeatle-hit, Raven house; George Johnson. (10)
- Ahn-chuka-hit, near the end of the village house; Jimmie Paul. (11)
- Yeatke-socky-hit, Raven-bones house; Pete Johnson. (13)

Khook-hit, Khook means a big hole dug in the ground formerly used for storing food to keep from freezing; James Hilton. (17, location uncertain)
Day-shu-hit, the end of a street house; Charlie John. (16). [Note that the present names of houses 11 and 16 have become transposed]
Kar-kowk-hit, named for a curved rock at Basket Bay. Kar-kowk means a curve, like an arc; symbol, beaver; Basket Bay Chief. (17)

Ahn-kharky-tarn, Dog Salmon:
Yen-khoon-hit, yen-khoon means old logs or stumps lying in creeks, consequently interpreted as a dwelling place of the salmon; Moses Jamestown. (1)
Ahn-khark-hit, the village central house; John Hunter and William George. (6)

Woosh-kee-tarn, the Eagle clan. This clan at different times used the symbol of a mud shark, and a cane of some bird called in Tlingit, cheet [Murrelet]:
Noowa-hit, fort house, John Fred. (12)

Tuck-la-way-tee, the Killer Whale or Thrasher clan:
Keet-hit, "Thrasher" [Killer Whale] house; Jimmy George. (2)
Keet-hit; John Nelson. (3)
Keet-hit; Archie Bell. (4)

Tay-quay-tee, the Bear clan:
Khootz-hit, bear house; Tom G. Brown. (5)
Sha-nak-hit, Sha means mountain; bears live on the mountains so the house is called mountain house; Albert Kukash and George Klushkan. (15)

Dr. Viola Garfield gathered information about the houses and the sib affiliations of the Angoon population during her visit in 1945. She has very generously let me use unpublished material from her notebooks. In 1949 and 1950 we obtained lists of houses, and also census data, including some short genealogies. In all, we have obtained references to some 22 houses at Angoon, although not all of these are still occupied or even still standing. The following summary will draw upon all sources of available information.

ANCIENT HOUSES

When the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi left Angoon, the Decitan acquired the rights to their house sites and house names, and in this way obtained yeł hıt, "*Ravcn House,*" then, as now, the most important in the village. We do not know where it was located. The G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi at that time also had a fortified house on the point south of the school (22), called G̣anᴀx̣canuwu, "*Fort of the Women of G̣anᴀx̣.*" There is now no house of that name, and apparently has been none for some time. The G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi were living at the extreme southern end of the town, in an area which includes the present school grounds. Near here, we were told, were formerly visible the foundations of two very old houses. One near the school yard (21), was dug down, that is, the center was excavated, and the floor was covered with sand. It carried the symbolic representation (carved house posts?, painted facade or interior screen?) of a hawk, kıdjúk. It was named 'as

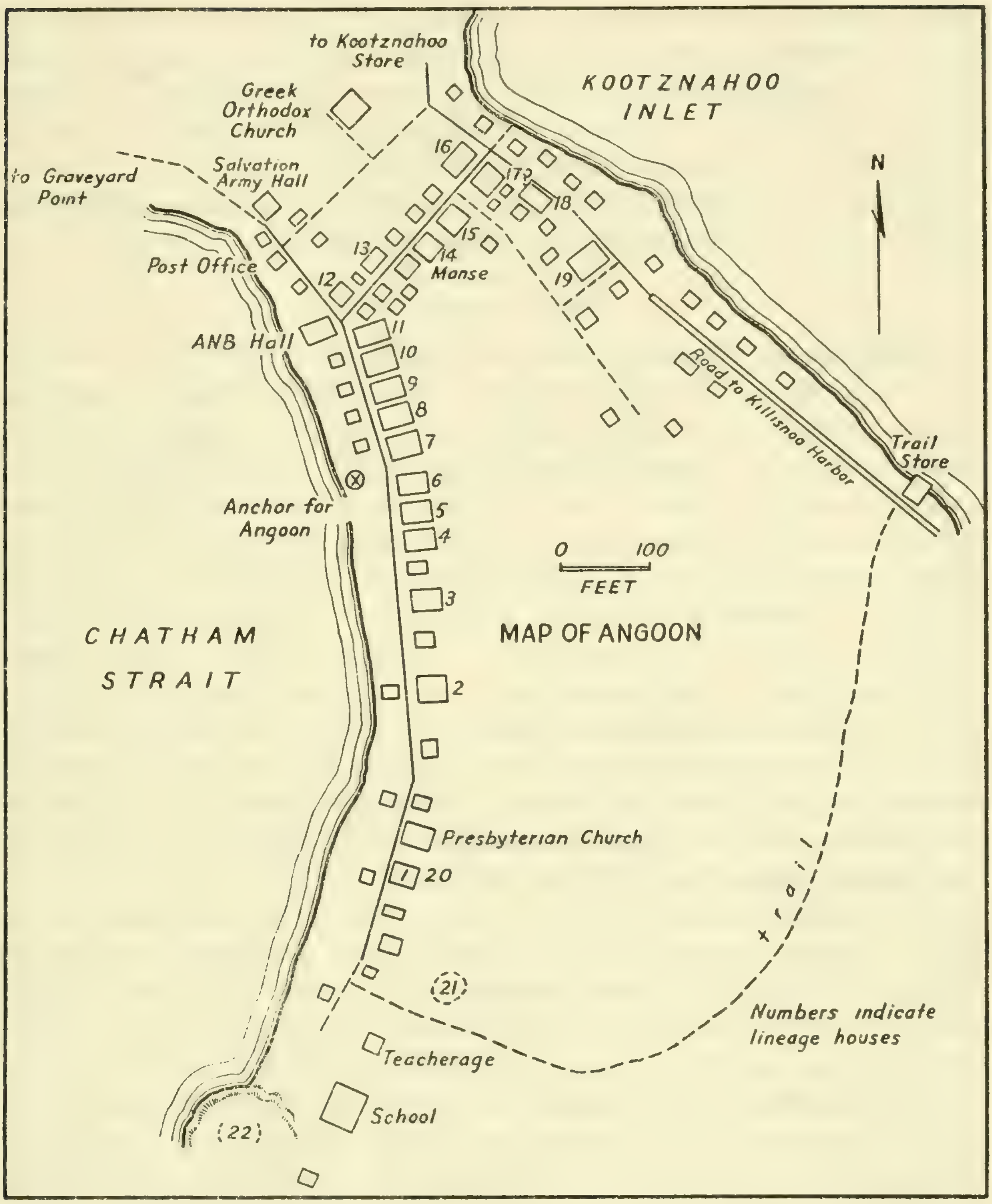
to Kootznahoo Store
KOOTZNAHOO INLET
Greek Orthodox Church
N
16
17?
18
to Graveyard Point
Salvation Army Hall
15
14
Manse
13
12
19
Post Office
ANB Hall
11
10
9
8
7
Road to Killisnoo Harbor
Trail Store
6
5
4
3
2
Anchor for Angoon
0 100 FEET
MAP OF ANGOON
CHATHAM STRAIT
Presbyterian Church
20
Trail
21
Numbers indicate lineage houses
Teacherage
School
22

FIGURE 17.—Sketch map of Angoon. Key to Lineage Houses in Angoon: 1, Log Jam House, 'Anx̣̓akhıtan. 2, Killer Whale Tooth House, DAqł'awedi. 3, Killer Whale House, DAqł'awedi. 4, Killer Whale House, DAqł'awedi. 5, Bear House, Teq^{w}edi. 6, Middle of the Village House, 'Anx̣̓akhıtan. 7, Clear Spring House, Decitan. 8, Steel House, Decitan. 9, Packed Solid House, Decitan. 10, Raven House, Decitan. 11, Trail End House, Decitan. 12, Fort House, WUckitan. 13, Raven Bones House, Decitan. 14, Bear Den House, lost by Teq^{w}edi to WUckitan. 15, Valley House, Teq^{w}edi. 16, Village End House, Decitan. 17, Pit Cache House, lost by Decitan, location uncertain. 18, House on Top of the Fort, originally WUckitan. 19, Basket House, Basket Bay branch of Decitan. 20, Site of Edge-Around House, 'Anx̣̓akhıtan. 21, Site of Young Tree House (ĢanAx̣Adi ?). 22, Site of Fort of Women of ĢanAx̣.

yᴀtx̣̓i hıt, "*Young Tree House,*" literally, "Spruce-children House." Our informant, a middle-aged 'Anx̣̓akhıtan woman, claimed that the house belonged to her sib, but it may have belonged to or been derived from the Ģanᴀx̣ᴀdi, since Swanton lists a kıdjū'k hıt as belonging to the Tongas division of that sib.[49]

The second old house, wᴀnda hıt, was at the site of the 'Anx̣̓akhıtan house (1), and seems to have belonged to that sib (see below).

DECITAN HOUSES

"*Raven House,*" yeł hıt, was said by all our informants to have been the first house built at Angoon. We did not learn where the original location was supposed to have been. It may have been somewhere on land now leveled for the school grounds. The present Raven House (10) is on the Chatham Strait side of Angoon, near the center of the village, and like all the other buildings is of ordinary frame construction (pl. 1). Formerly it was decorated by two big carved wooden ravens, one on each side of the door, their beaks extending out over the boardwalk. No sign of these now remains. They may have been taken down because the house served as a place of worship for the Presbyterians before the present church was built, or they may have been removed in 1929, along with the totemic insignia on other houses, when the town was modernized for a meeting of the Grand Camp of the Alaska Native Brotherhood, since this organization is opposed to the old ways.

The traditional name or title of the head of Raven House is Yel nawu, "Dead Raven." The earliest known chief was already an old man in 1890 (?) when he painted the two killer whales that formerly adorned Killer Whale House (4) (pl. 2, *b*; fig. 18, *b*). The next (?) chief, called Lᴀ́xanagut as a boy, was the father of Archie Bell, the chief of Killer Whale House (4) who was responsible for the obliteration of these paintings. This Yeł nawu was the chief speaker for the Ravens at a "Peace Dance," held in 1914 or 1915 at Killer Whale House, to reconcile the Decitan and Dᴀqł'awedi after a Decitan man named L'axkek^w had been accidentally killed by his Dᴀqł'awedi son. This Yeł nawu was also one of the prominent chiefs in 1917 when the Angoon town council was established. One of the town meetings was held in Raven House in 1918.

After this man died, the chieftainship went to his maternal nephew, George Johnson, also called Qacᴀxaw (possibly q'acᴀx̣awu, "someone's head hair"). The latter died about 1928, and his widow married his younger brother, Samuel Johnson, the present chief. In between the two Johnson brothers, the head of the house was George Gamble

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[49] Swanton, 1908, p. 400. At Yakutat, however, kıdjúk is translated as "golden eagle," and the crest and house name belong to the Teq^{w}edi in the Eagle-Wolf moiety.

(born 1897), called Sík‘gɛ̀, whose relationship to the Johnsons we do not know, although his mother was a very high-ranking Raven woman. His father was a Wᴜckitan from Juneau. It is hard to understand why George Gamble, who could only have been a "nephew" to his predecessor, should have succeeded rather than the younger brother, unless the latter, who is the Presbyterian minister, was absent from Angoon at the time in connection with his calling. In any case, Samuel G. Johnson (born 1889), called Lʌ́xanagut, succeeded to the chieftainship between 1945 and 1947. He renovated the house in 1947–48, for which he gave an impressive potlatch, the last one reported in Angoon (at the time of our visit in 1950).

The father of the two Johnson brothers was Qatcgahet, the Teqʷedi chief of Bear House (5). Their mother belonged to a lineage that originally claimed rights at Chaik Bay, rather than at Angoon. Thus we can see a shift in the paternal affiliations of the Raven House chiefs from the Dʌqł’awedi to the Teqʷedi.

Raven House is now unoccupied, although sib heirlooms are still stored in it.

"*Raven Bones House,*" yeł śaqɪ hɪt (13), is described by Garfield as a branch of Raven House. The first chief reported to us was Pete Johnson, Ánxɪsà. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Billy Johnson, or Kákʌ̀c, and finally by a still younger brother, Jimmy Johnson, the present chief. The latter (born 1879), is called ’Ak̓ʷt‘ʌ, "At the Bottom of a Little Lake," and T‘ił’ ʟen, "Big Dog Salmon." He married first a Wᴜckitan woman, then the Kagwantan widow of his brother Pete, and finally the Kagwantan widow of his brother Billy. Jimmy Johnson's most honorable name is Datx-qa-sadu-’ax̣tc, "Something Valuable about which we Talk" (to give a free translation). He and his wife occupy the house, while his youngest brother, Billy Jones, a noted orator, lives next door. Both of these men, who are older than the chief of Raven House, assist him at potlatches with speeches and lead in the singing. The father of these men was a chief of the Dʌqł’awedi Killer Whale House (4?), and they lived during their boyhood at Chaik Bay.

The third Decitan house is ctin hɪt. The word, ctin, is sometimes translated as "hard stone," but seems to be simply the English word "steel" mispronounced in the usual Tlingit fashion which confuses *N* and *L*. We shall therefore call it "*Steel House*" (8), as our most critical informants and Emmons have done. According to Garfield, the original founder of the house was a man "who was proud and wealthy and wished people to regard him as hard as a rock" (Garfield, 1947, p. 439). The story which we heard, however, was that the builder had a slave named Ctin, "Steel," who was killed at the potlatch celebrating the completion of the house. The house was named after him, in accordance with his last wish. Whether or not this story is correct, it is the one generally current at Angoon.

The chief of the house is traditionally named Kıtcnałx̣ (kıtc "wings," nał "treasure", x̣ "on"). This refers to a potlatch at which a large wooden image of a raven was set up on the beach, with Chilkat blankets hung over the outstretched wings. As many slaves were killed on the "Anchor for Angoon," the boulder near the house, as there were blankets. When the tide came up, the raven figure and the blankets all floated out to sea. It was Qasaygᴇ, sister of the original (?) Kıtcnałx̣, who married a Haida, and was the ancestress of the 'Anx̣̓akhıtan sib.

The earliest Kıtcnałx̣ of whom we heard was the man known as "Killisnoo Jake," who was mentioned in connection with the destruction of the Kake villages in 1869. He promised Captain Beardslee in 1880 not to renew the feud with the Wrangell people, and was among the chiefs who conferred with Commander Merriman after the destruction of Angoon in 1882. This man appears, among other notables, in a photograph taken in 1890 in front of the Greek Orthodox Church at Killisnoo. He was the marshal at that time. A later chief of Steel House was Charley Andanott, Andénat or Qux̣ʷatśa. He became one of the "city fathers" in 1917 when the town council was formed, and was still chief in 1928. The present chief is George Davis (born 1899), his maternal nephew. The latter's wife, who died recently, was the Wᴜckitan daughter of Jimmy Johnson, chief of Raven Bones House (13). Unfortunately we do not know to what lineage or sib Davis' father belonged, but I suspect it was Wᴜckitan. In any case, he is felt to belong to the old high-class lines, and he is well versed in both Decitan and Wᴜckitan traditions. He and his children occupy the house; one daughter is attending college.

"*Clear Spring House*," gun hıt (7), was, according to Garfield, built by the younger brother of the founder of "Steel House" to offset the latter's boasting (Garfield, 1947, p. 439). We were told that Steel House became too crowded, so that another house was built, perhaps a euphemistic reference to friction within the lineage. The present modern house is said to be on the original site. Whereas all the other old-style houses were filled with smoke from the central fire, this one was clear. Therefore it was called "gun," meaning a calm, clear spring or pool of water. The lineage has a crest hat symbolizing the shelter of a tree, 'aśyı (?), "place beneath the spruce." The chief in 1928 was Little Jack, called Wułcuqʷ. It is now occupied by his Teqʷedi son, Johnny Jack, and the latter's Decitan wife and children. It is supposed to belong to these children; the original lineage has become extinct. The building was formerly larger, but was remodeled for Little Jack by his children. Garfield has identified the painted partition with two beavers as originally belonging to this house. (Swanton, 1908, fig. 106; Garfield, 1947, p. 439.)

The house called tuqkʷa hɪt or tuqʷa hɪt, translated by Garfield's informants as "Front, or High House," and by ours as "*Packed Solid* (like a box) *House*" (9), has been empty for years and is now almost in ruins. For this reason perhaps, we were not able to learn anything definite about the meaning of the name. Emmons translates it as "House Standing Sidewise." Formerly people moved into it from both Steel House and Clear Spring House. The traditional title of the chief is Kanᴀłq'ʷ, from which the name Kanalku Bay seems to be derived. The native name means "Water Coming Up," and refers to the potlatch given by the chief of Steel House in which the rising tide washed away the raven figure and the blankets. Emmons has published a photograph, probably taken in the 1890's, of "Joe Kennel-Ku, chief of the Da-she-ton family of the Hootz-ah-tar tribe," dressed in a shirt woven like a Chilkat blanket with a beaver design in front. (Emmons, 1908 a, p. 68). In 1928 the chief of the house was John Paul, Qʿaʟen, "Big Man." He was married to a Kagwantan woman, the sister of Anaxuts. The latter is a famous Sitka Kagwantan name and we have already met a chief "Annahoots" acting as a policeman at Sitka while Captain Beardslee was there. The previous (?) chief of tuqkʷa hɪt was the father of Robert Willard, the present head of the Wᴜckitan Fort House (12). Now, the only surviving member of the lineage is a woman who lives in Sitka.

What is now called decu hɪt, "*Trail End House*" (11), should, according to one of our informants be called 'antcuk'ᴀ hɪt, "Village End House" (cf. 16), but the names of the houses have become transposed. The present Trail End House is at the western or Chatham Strait end of the path across the isthmus, next to Raven House. It was across this path that the beaver ran who led the Decitan to Angoon, and the name of the house refers to the beaver's trail. The present building was erected in 1912 by "Sitkoh Bay Chief." In 1928, the head of the house was Jimmy Paul, Qat'awu; the present chief is his brother, Jim Paul, S̓antux̣ (born 1892). Both Pauls were nephews of "Sitkoh Bay Chief." In 1948 Jim Paul had the foundations of the house lifted, to pay for which he gave a potlatch, and in 1950 he was contemplating further renovations (repairing the windows, and painting), in which the Wᴜckitan would be asked to help.

The other decu hɪt or 'antcukʿᴀ hɪt, "*Village End House*" (16)[50] was at the east or Kootznahoo Inlet end of the same path across the isthmus. The present building is fairly new, on or near the site of an older one, but the second story is said to be unfinished. The chief in 1928 was Charley John (born 1888), referred to by one of Garfield's informants as "Chief of the Ravens." After his death in 1949, the house passed to his son-in-law, Jack Bell (born 1914). The latter is the Decitan son of Billy Bell, who was apparently a former chief of the Dᴀqł'awedi Killer Whale Tooth House (2). It is quite possible that according to native reckoning the relationship between Charley John and Jack Bell was closer than that of father- and son-in-law. In any case, the latter (?) sold the house to Paul James, an 'Anẋakhıtan man, and consequently, since the house is no longer Decitan, it is felt to have lost its name. It may be because of this that both house names (decu hıt, from which the whole sib is called, and 'antcuk̓ᴀ hıt) became attached to Jim Paul's house (11).

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[50] Boas, 1917, p. 108, gives this as 'ancuk'ᴀ́x̓, "at the end of the town," correcting Swanton's tcu "end" to cu. But we also heard it as tcu

Another house, known only from Emmon's list of 1890 and Andrew Davis' list of 1928 is k'úqʷ' hıt, "*Pit Cache House*" of the Decitan. The location of this house (17) is not known, but it seems to have been either near Village End House (16) according to Davis, or according to Emmons was the same as the latter. In 1928 it was occupied by James Hilton, who was unfortunately overlooked in our genealogies. After him, the occupants were Pete Hobson or Hotson, Ts̓ın-ic, a Dᴀqł'awedi man, and Augustus Hart, both of whom are now dead. All we know of the last is that he belonged to the Eagle-Wolf moiety. The wives of both Hobson and Hart were 'Anẋakhıtan women. Mrs. Hart, who died in 1949, was the daughter of a Teqʷedi father, and her husband may, therefore, have belonged to the same sib. It seems clear that even if James Hilton were Decitan, the later occupants or owners of the house were not, and this being the case, we suspect that the house itself, which had been alienated from the Decitan, was not mentioned by our informants because it was no longer lineage property.

The last Decitan house belongs to the Basket Bay division of that sib. The original building was undoubtedly in Basket Bay. It was called qᴀkʷ' hıt, "*Basket* (*or Arch*) *House*" (19). The chief in 1918 and in 1928 had the three names: Qaqᴀʟdeni, Ts̓éyùc, and Gítwèn. The name Ts̓éyùc is said to be the Tlingit rendering of James. The last name, Gítwèn, is one later held by Peter J. Johnson, the deceased son of Bessie, a Basket Bay woman, and Robert Johnson, a Dᴀqł'awedi man. The house was, however, inherited by the nephew of "Basket Bay Chief," Andrew Dick, Qak̓ʷetcᴇ, and later by the latter's brother, Peter Dick (born 1886). The earlier location of the house in Angoon is said to have been on the path across the isthmus, between Raven Bones House (13) and Village End House (or Trail End House) (16). This building had a painted front. The site is now occupied by a private dwelling. The present Basket House (19) is farther south, on the Kootznahoo Inlet side of town, and is distinguished by a round windowpane in the door.

'ANX̣̓AKHITAN HOUSES

"*Middle of the Village House,*" 'anx̣̓ak hɪt, the house from which the sib derives its name, is sometimes referred to as tʻił' hɪt, "Dog Salmon House," and we were told that the latter was really the older name. Emmons listed the two, however, as distinct houses. When the descendants of the sister of the chief of the Decitan Steel House returned from Kasaan, that chief, their uncle, gave them permission to build a house beside his own in the middle of the village, hence the name of their house. The first Middle of the Village House is said to have been at Whitewater Bay, and was decorated by a painting of a black-and-red dog salmon. The present house at Angoon (6) is separated from Steel House by the Decitan Clear Spring House. The traditional title of the house chief is Qʻadjaqʷtc, "Man-Killer." A man of this name was marshal at Killisnoo in 1890, along with "Killisnoo Jake" of Steel House, and was responsible for erecting the present Middle of the Village House at Angoon. He was succeeded by William George, Takʻᴀ́, who had the house remodeled in 1917. In 1928 the intended heir was George's son-in-law, John Hunter, Cayxakʻ, but the latter died (before his father-in-law?), and we know of no chief after William George. The house has been empty for a long time.

The second 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan house is yᴀnxun hɪt (1), which was also originally at Whitewater Bay. The name means "*Log Jam House,*" implying a number of hemlock (yᴇn) stumps, rotting (x̣̓ùn) in the river, under which the salmon hide. The traditional title of the chief is Daqatckik. The last chief of this name was Moses Jamestown, Te'iga-ic, who died in 1950. His English name is derived from that of the U. S. S. *Jamestown,* which took him from Whitewater Bay when he was an unwanted orphan to the Presbyterian Mission school (Sheldon Jackson School) in Sitka in 1879. He made a will leaving the house to the Dᴀqł'awedi grandchildren of his deceased wife, men who are not directly related to him at all. It has been said that George Hobson of Sitka, the 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan son of Pete Hobson (see Pit Cache House, 17), is the rightful heir under the old sib inheritance rules. If Moses Jamestown's will be held valid, the house will cease to be lineage property.

The building is said to have been erected on the site of an earlier, old-style house called wᴀnda hɪt, "*Edge-Around?*" or "*Around-the-Edge House*" (20). Swanton lists a house of this name belonging to the Tongas Teqʷedi, and translates wā'ndᴀ as "an ornamental cloak worn at dances . . . trimmed with eagle skins along the sides," (Swanton, 1908, p. 400) that is, around the edge. The Angoon house, however, was said to have been 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan, like that later erected at the site, and the name for its chief was also Daqatckik, Moses Jamestown's title. All this, in fact, suggests that there was really only one "house," or house site, with two names. The chief of the earlier house owned a big painted canoe, which he had bought for two slaves. The same informant who told us about the earlier house also said that Moses Jamestown's grandfather owned a big painted canoe called kit yakʷʻ, "Killer Whale Canoe." These two men may have been the same person. The 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan are often said to have had superior war canoes because of their Haida connections. However, the name of the canoe would indicate that the owner was a Dᴀqł'awedi man, perhaps Moses Jamestown's mother's father.

WUCKITAN HOUSES

The Wᴜckitan now have only one house at Angoon. This is nu hɪt, "*Fort House*" (12), said to be the third building of that name on the same site. The first of these, at least, was surrounded by a palisade. The posts of the second (?) house could still be seen in the garden until recently. This house had belonged to John Shuwika (Cuwika). His daughter, born in 1890, remembers that the house had two benches around the walls, each 5 feet high, with boxlike sleeping rooms above them. A later chief, who died about 1928, was John Fred, known as Quʟ'aha. He was "nephew" to the Davis brothers, the oldest of whom had the same name. The youngest, John Davis, who died about 1946, was married to a daughter of his "uncle," John Cuwika. The affiliations of this lineage were with the 'Anx̣̓akhɪtan, that is, the men married women of that sib. After John Fred, the headship of Fort House passed to Charley Frank, a son-in-law of Quʟ'aha Davis. The previous chiefs had belonged to the Angoon branch of the Wᴜckitan, but Charley Frank was a member of the Freshwater Bay division. Charley Frank and his son-in-law, Robert Willard, built the present house, which the latter inherited upon the death of his father-in-law and renovated in connection with an important potlatch. This type of inheritance is described by Mrs. Willard as a "new-style arrangement." (Ideally, under the old rules of preferential marriage, the maternal nephew and son-in-law would be one and the same person. The shift from actual nephew to actual son-in-law, provided that the latter was of the right sib to inherit, seems to have been caused by two factors: extinction of many family lines, and missionary teachings against marriage with first-cousins.) Robert Willard (born 1887) is the son of a Decitan father, and is married to a Decitan woman. He was known as Dełƙı when a boy, later as Cawut'an, and his "big name" is Kıtcxayʟ'.

There was also a nu hıt at Sitka, with which the Angoon Wᴜckitan were closely affiliated. This was the house that was destroyed by the Kagwantan when John Cuwika was a little boy, and he was the only member of the group to escape. Later the house was rebuilt, and his son-in-law, John Davis, apparently obtained title to it. The latter told his 'Anẋakhıtan son that he could have the house if he married a Wᴜckitan woman, that is, he could hold it in trust for his Wᴜckitan children. This would have resulted in inheritance by a paternal grandson, but since the son did not marry, this arrangement was not carried out.

There was also a former Wᴜckitan house, núcakʿᴀ hıt, translated as "High Class People's House," but more properly perhaps as "*House on Top of the Fort*" (18), formerly owned by Charley Davis. It was sold out of the family, and although bought again by Charley Walters, brother of Charley Davis, it is no longer considered a sib house. A song belonging to the lineage of this house referred to the ϙonaqadet, or wealth-bringing water monster. Garfield mentions a house of the same name, núcakʿᴀ hıt, "Fort-on-Top House," or wúcakʿᴀ hıt, "Over-all House," at Grouse Fort, the village on Icy Strait from which both the Wᴜckitan and Kagwantan are derived (Garfield, 1947, p. 450.)

TEQ^WEDI HOUSES

The Teqʷedi formerly owned xuts kudi hıt, "*Bear Den House*" (14), but this was recently lost to the Wᴜckitan, although neither Garfield nor ourselves learned the circumstances (ibid., p. 447). The present owner is Jimmy Brown, YanastᴀƗ', "Bouncing" (like a bird taking off from the water). He is not at present in Angoon. Evidently the house had ceased to be lineage property in 1928, for no mention of it was made on Andrew Davis' list.

The most important Teqʷedi house is xuts hıt, "*Bear House*" (5). There was formerly a house of the same name in Whitewater Bay. In 1896, the Angoon house is said to have had four great house posts, carved to represent the sib hero, Katś, his Bear wife, and his little dog. Our informant, who remembers this house from her childhood, said that it was the only one at the time that had carved house posts, and that she was afraid to look at them. Emmons, who visited Angoon in 1890, does not mention the interior posts but rather a totem pole beside the house which was surmounted by the figure of a bear. This pole was evidently between Bear House and Killer Whale House (4), as shown in an undated photograph in the State Indian Museum at Sacramento (pl. 2, *b*). Both houses in this picture are the ones still standing. The pole evidently has a conventionalized bear on the bottom, a second bearlike figure holding a dog by its tail, and a human face (Katś ?)between the ears of the second bear. Above are four bear prints carved in the smooth surface of the pole, and on top is a very realistic carving in the round of a bear, seated on the pole and looking down.

The chief of this house in 1917 was Shorty Johnson, Qàtcgahét, father of George and Samuel Johnson, chiefs of Raven House. In 1928, the chief was Tom G. Brown. The latter was apparently the last official chief. His brother, Peter Tom, was supposed to inherit the house, but it is actually the nephew, Eddy (or Andy) Jack, who has been living in it since 1950 when he returned to Angoon from Tenakee. Frank Jack, his younger brother, was also mentioned to us as a possible head, as was Johnny Jack, another brother. The latter might perhaps have a special claim since he is son-in-law to Peter Tom. However, he has a private house of his own. In any case, all of the brothers are rather young (not over 35?), and it is possible that none of them would care to undertake the responsibility and expense of the potlatch necessary to validate the chieftainship. The Jack brothers are sons of Little Jack, former chief of Clear Spring House of the Decitan (7).

The other Teqʷedi house is canax̣ hıt, "House Between the Mountains," or "*Valley House*" (15), referring to the favorite location for bears' dens. The present building was erected about 40 years ago. George Johnson, former chief of Raven House, was the "builder," and was awarded $100 and a Chilkat blanket at the house-building potlatch. In 1914–15 the house was rebuilt, for which an impressive potlatch was given by the chief, Albert Kukash, whose native names were Kukec, Qácàn, and Kitnaq̓. He was the "brother" (or cousin?) of Shorty Johnson, chief of Bear House. Albert Kukash was assisted at the potlatch by his "nephew," George Klushkan, Ľuckan. The latter was son-in-law to Yanatcúx or Qadjıłqeq, a noted Teqʷedi chief of the 1880's, whose carved marble tombstone, representing a bear, stands near the house. I think this man was actually chief of Valley House in 1882. He had a summer camp on Channel Point, which was spared at the time Angoon and the surrounding camps were burned. This was because the chief's friend, a halfbreed interpreter on one of the Government boats, testified that he had been away fishing when the white hostages were seized and was in no sense responsible for this incident. Another daughter of this same chief was the wife of Shorty Johnson of Bear House. George Klushkan would presumably have inherited Valley House from his "uncle," but he seems to have died before the latter. Albert Kukash, who lived until 1940, built a private house in 1927–28, so that his family would have their own house after his death. When he died, there was actually no one living in Valley House. James Jackson (born 1882), whose potlatch title is Qàĝéc, and whose name is also Ľuckan, is a "nephew" to Albert Kukash, and perhaps should be the heir now. Actually, Frank Jack, one of the sons of Little Jack, and brother to the present occupant of Bear House, seems to be caring for or even living in Valley House. For a time it was occupied by Mrs. William George, the Teq^{w}edi widow of the former chief of Middle of the Village House. She was the maternal grandmother of the Jack brothers, and the mother of Willis George (born 1902). The latter, known as Daquct'ᴇ or Taqusťe, also has the potlatch name or title of Qàtcgahét, and may outrank all the Teq^{w}edi, although he lives in his own private house.

DAQŁ'AWEDI HOUSES

This sib has three houses at Angoon. Two are known as kit hıt, "*Killer Whale House*," but one of these (4), now owned by Peter Kanash, is more correctly called wutc-daka-dın kit hıt ("Killer Whales Touching Each Other on the Back"??) because it formerly had a painting on the facade of two killer whales facing away from each other. A house of this name with a similar painting is mentioned by Emmons, presumably dating from 1890. This is evidently the same house that is illustrated in the undated photograph in the State Indian Museum at Sacramento (pl. 2, *b*). The picture shows the present building as it was before two shed annexes were built on the south side and a front door with glass panes was added. The photograph of the painting on the house front is practically identical with the sketch made in 1950 by Edward Malin (fig. 18, *b*). This building is said to have been erected by the mother's mother's brother of the present chief. The traditional chief's title is Guctahín, referring to the water rushing past the fin of the killer whale. The painting on the house was made by a former chief of Raven House, when the latter was an old man, and he received $500 for his work at the subsequent potlatch. The next chief of Killer Whale House was Archie Bell, the son of this Raven House chief. Archie Bell was called Nałk, St'utex, and Danawu, in addition to his title. He was chief in 1928 and was responsible for the obliteration of the killer-whale painting. Now, only its faint outlines can be seen under grayish-white commercial paint. Peter Kanash (born 1885), Archie Bell's half-brother by the same mother, is the present chief. He put in partitions to make several rooms of what had formerly been a single big room, reshingled the roof, and strengthened the foundations. It cost $2,300 for the repairs and $7,000 for the house-building (house-repairing) potlatch. Billy Jones, half-brother of the chief of Raven Bones House and son of a former Guctahín (probably the Killer Whale House chief

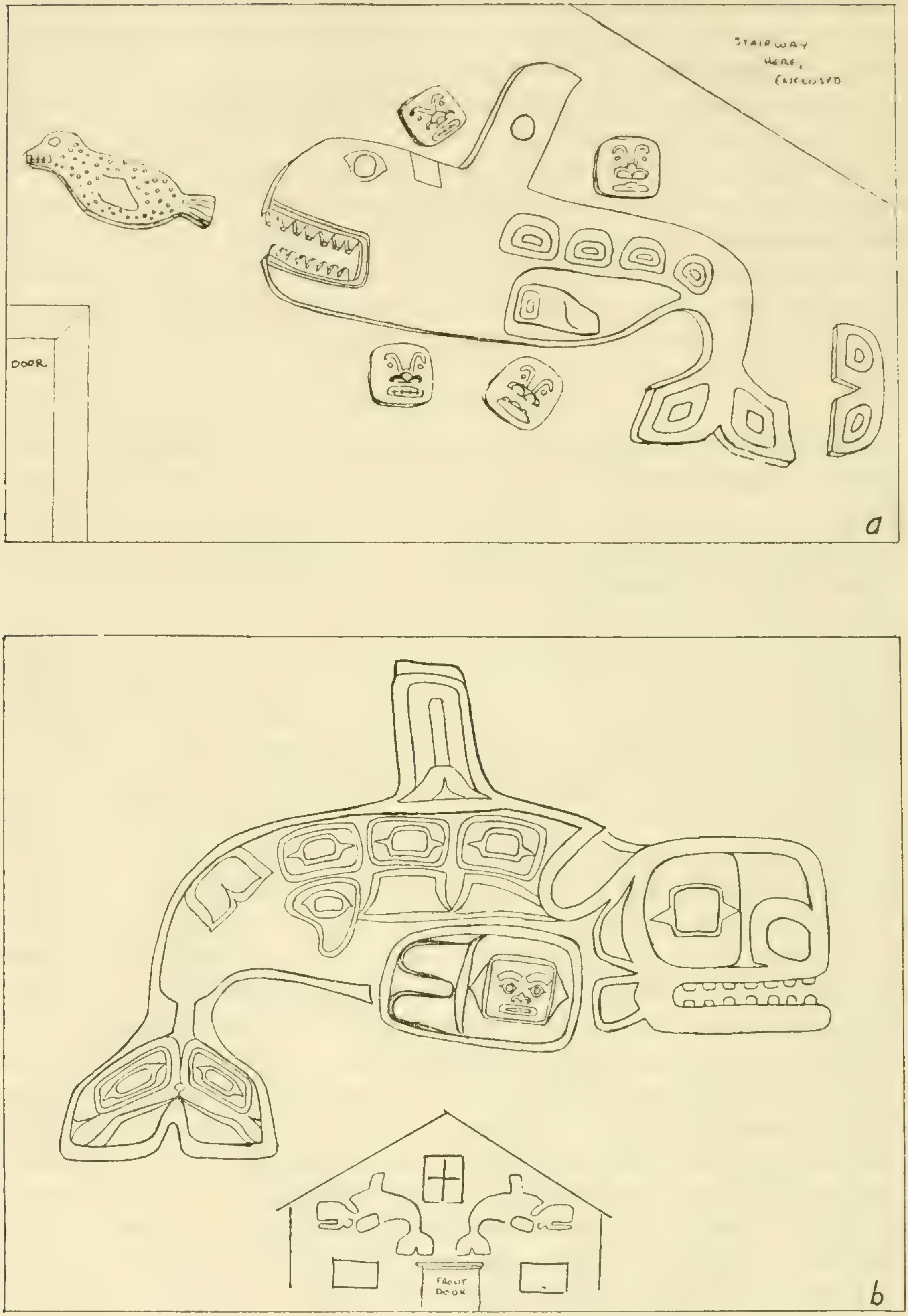
STAIRWAY
HERE,
ENCLOSED
DOOR
a
FRONT
DOOR
b

FIGURE 18

(For legend, see opposite page.)

of the 1890's), acted as master of ceremonies for the Decitan at this potlatch, and announced Peter Kanash's new title as lineage chief.

The second "*Killer Whale House*" (3) is also known as tsa-sɪ-nᴀq‘ kit hıt, "Killer Whale Chasing Seal House," because it has such a scene represented on a carved and painted panel (fig. 18, *a*). This was formerly a painting on the front of the house,[51] but the boards were moved inside about 1928 in modernizing the village for the Alaska Native Brotherhood convention. A former chief of the house was John Nelson (born 1872). His lineage is extinct, and the house now belongs to Robert Jamestown (born 1906), a Dᴀqł'awedi man who married the step-daughter of John Nelson. (She was the daughter of John Nelson's brother, and was adopted when John married his brother's widow). This woman was 'Anx̣akhıtan. According to Garfield's information, John Nelson claimed Hood Bay. He died some time after 1945.

The third house of the sib is kit ux̣u hıt, "*Killer Whale Tooth House*" (2). It has been held, at least since 1928, by Jimmy George (born 1889). He is the son of a Decitan man, Albert (full name unknown), and the present Mrs. Mary Bell. It was on the occasion of this Decitan's man's death that the last Peace Dance was held in Angoon about 1914 or 1915. Jimmy George's first name was Gus̓k‘ᴀtsex̣ ("to kick on the clouds" ?), but he inherited the name or title of Wutcxkaduha, the famous Hood Bay shaman. This house is not as old as the first Killer Whale House (4). It was once larger than it is now, and had a marble killer whale in front. In 1950, two tombstones were displayed in front of the house. One of these was for Billy Bell, a Dᴀqł'awedi man known as Qatuctin and Wutcxkaduha, who died long ago. He was the father of Mrs. Mary Bell's second husband, Frank Bell, and of Jack Bell, the last chief of the Decitan Village End House (16). It is probably from Billy Bell that Jimmy George inherited his name and Killer Whale Tooth House.[52]

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[51] The original painted facade is illustrated in Emmons, 1930, p. 291.

[52] The relationship between these two men is probably fairly close, since both of Mary Bell's husbands, the fathers of Jimmy George and Frank Bell, were Decitan and may well have been brothers or cousins. In any case, Billy Bell would have been "uncle" to Jimmy George.

Figure 18.—Paintings on Killer Whale Houses, Angoon. Sketched by Edward Malin. *a*, Painting inside Killer Whale House No. 3. (The figures are cut from separate boards, about one-half inch thick. Whale: 24 inches long. Black, with white patch on which is black fin with yellow stripe. Circles on side and design on tail are yellow. Eye is dark green, teeth yellow. Seal: 8 inches long. Gray with black spots; tail, mouth, and eyes are brown. Faces: 4 inches square. Green or yellow with black features.) *b*, Painting outside Killer Whale House No. 4. (Whales originally painted in bands of black, here outlined.)

The second tombstone in front of the house was that of Peter James, a Dᴀqł’awedi man who died in 1950. He was the maternal grandfather of Jimmy George’s second wife, the Decitan daughter of Archie Bell, former chief of Killer Whale House (4). Evidently Jimmy George was planning a funeral potlatch in honor of these two distinguished relatives some time during the winter of 1950–51. Jimmy George’s third wife is the Decitan daughter of Peter James by the latter’s second wife.

SUMMARY

These genealogies and records of succession, short and incomplete as they are, show how the leading families in two sibs of opposite moieties tend to intermarry, so that sometimes the chiefs of their respective houses are actually father and son, or at least paternal uncle and nephew, an equivalent relationship in Tlingit thought. We also see the inheritance of titles, houses, and widows by younger brothers, with the house and title passing eventually to the maternal nephew (in the old days the widow would also have been so inherited, and she would also have been a paternal aunt). The more modern scheme is to substitute a son-in-law of the correct sib when no direct heir in the maternal line is available, or to attempt to pass the house to a paternal grandson in the sib. Lastly, we have examples of houses passing completely from the lineage and sib by transfer in settlement of a dispute, or by sale, and the attempt to do so through a modern legal will. There seems to be no doubt that with the abandonment of potlatching, a custom that appears to most of the younger generation as a waste of time and money, condemned by the Alaska Native Brotherhood as a sign of cultural backwardness, and discouraged by the church as smacking of the heathen past, we may expect in the future that few houses will be inherited as lineage property and that few titles will be validated by potlatching.

ANGOON TODAY

We may finally close this historical account with a sketch of the most recent developments at Angoon that make the town what it is today. This section is based on information obtained from a number of informants, but in most cases we have been unable to check it against historical records.

The town of Angoon was organized in May 1917 under the Territorial laws of 1915. All the chiefs had to agree. They were afraid, said our informant, that if they did not establish a government according to the white man’s law the United States Government might again burn the town. The chiefs specifically mentioned as taking part in this meeting were: Yeł nawu of Raven House, Charley

Andanott of Clear Spring House, and Basket Bay Chief, all Decitan; William George of Middle of the Village House, the chief of Log Jam House, both ’Anx̣̓akhɪtan; Shorty Johnson of Valley House and his nephew, George Klushkan, both Teqʷedi.

At times old intersib rivalries and intrasib jealousies impeded the smooth running of the new organization. Although meetings of various native groups are now conducted according to Robert’s Rules of Order, the parliamentary procedure which the town council tried to follow in the early days was undoubtedly unfamiliar to the leaders. Friction sometimes arose on matters of protocol and procedure between the older men who were both chiefs and city fathers and the younger school graduates who were not only essential as clerks and secretaries, but who were active propagandists for the new ways. There must have been disagreements, too, over matters of policy, especially since the younger men in many cases were not only intolerant of the old customs but even ignorant of the principles on which they were based. That the organization survived and was able to bring real improvements to the town is evidence of the earnest endeavors and common sense of its members.

There had been a Greek Orthodox Church at Killisnoo since 1889, and also a Salvation Army Hall there, before either was built at Angoon. The first church at Angoon was the Presbyterian Church, built in 1918–19. Previously the Presbyterian congregation had met for services at Raven House, but the present chief of the house and Presbyterian minister raised funds to build the church. The whole community worked on it. Since the minister and his family now live at the Manse, the old Raven House is unoccupied. The present chief of Trail End House is one of the elders of the church. A nephew of a previous chief of Raven House is the Presbyterian minister at Kake. During the summer of 1950, Cyrus Peck, a Kagwantan who is married to the Decitan step-daughter of the chief of Killer Whale House (4) was visiting minister.

The Salvation Army Hall at Angoon was built also by the whole community, but we do not know the date. The chief of Fort House is a captain and the leader of this congregation. The chief of Log Jam House who died in 1950 and a number of other ’Anx̣̓akhɪtan men are active members of the Salvation Army. The Greek Orthodox Church at Angoon was built in 1928–29, also through community effort, aided by friends from Sitka and Hoonah. There has never been a regular priest assigned to either Killisnoo or Angoon, but visiting priests have come from both Sitka and Hoonah, and a number of the Angoon people have toured with the Greek Orthodox choir, organized by Father Sorgon of Sitka.

Estimates of these three congregations in recent years have been: Greek Orthodox, 100 members; Salvation Army, 80; and Presbyterian, 70. While there is some suggestion that church membership may reflect lineage affiliations, there is considerable cooperation between the congregations. Choirs from the churches tour the town at Christmas time, when all who are able hold open house for them, and on such occasions as the visit of the Presbyterian Theological Seminary Choir most of the residents attend the special hymn singing. All are fond of music.

A public school was built at Killisnoo in 1880, but, as we have seen, never attracted a large attendance. This building was destroyed by fire in 1894. A number of middle-aged or elderly residents of Angoon have attended the Sheldon Jackson Presbyterian Mission School at Sitka, and some the Greek Orthodox mission school there. The first school classes at Angoon had to be held in any large house that happened to be available, and we were told that each year the people had to wait to see which house could be used. The people petitioned the Governor for a school, our informant said, and now they have one. It is, however, an Alaska Native Service school, not a Territorial public school. It was apparently first opened in 1920 at the present site, on land which had previously been used for gardens. In 1929 a new school and "teacherage" was built, with three large and one small classrooms, superintendent's office, clinic, storerooms, etc., as well as quarters for two married couples and a visiting Public Health Nurse. The latter, however, divides her time between Angoon and Kake. In 1938 the land behind the school was ditched and fitted as a basketball field. About 100 children attend school, some of the graduates going to the Mt. Edgecumbe High School, and in 1950 two young people, a boy and a girl, were attending a university.

Among the most important organizations at Angoon is the local camp of the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the affiliated Sisterhood. (The following account should be checked against Drucker's, 1958.) The ANB was originally founded at Sitka in 1912, by Tlingit from various parts of Alaska, including Eli Katinuk and William Hobson of Angoon, James Johnson of Klawak, Ralph Young of Hoonah, and a Tsimshian from New Metlakatla. The organization grew out of a group that had banded together to protest the refusal of restaurants and a moving picture theater in Sitka to admit Indians. Such discrimination is now prohibited by Territorial law. The boycotts were so successful that the group stuck together and founded the ANB. It now has camps in practically every native community in southeastern Alaska, and is conceived as a body which will eventually embrace all the natives of the Territory. The Pribilof Islanders

(Aleut) who were evacuated to southeastern Alaska have joined. In 1949 about 5,000? members were claimed. In addition to the local camps, there is a Grand Camp, a central organization consisting of the Grand Officers of the ANB and ANS, the chairmen and two additional delegates from each subordinate ANB and ANS camp, and all former Grand Presidents. Conventions are held every November at some town in southeastern Alaska, the local camp acting as host to the meeting which lasts about a week. Camp No. 7 was organized at Angoon in 1921–22 (?), after about 2 years' deliberation, following visits to Sitka of younger and older people to watch the work of the original local camp. At that time about half the people in town joined. The offices of President and Vice President are elective, as are the corresponding offices in the Alaska Native Sisterhood, and most of the prominent men and women of Angoon have held them. A convention of the Grand Camp was held at Angoon in 1929 and it was for this occasion that the paintings of the two Killer Whale Houses were obliterated or moved.

Article I, Purpose, of the Constitution of the Alaska Native Brotherhood (dated 1948) states:

> The purpose of this organization shall be to assist and encourage the Native in his advancement from his Native state to his place among the civilized races of the world, to oppose, to discourage, and to overcome the narrow injustice of race prejudice, to commemorate the fine qualities of the Native races of North America, to preserve their history, lore, art and virtues, to cultivate the morality, education, commerce and civil government of Alaska, to improve individual and municipal health and laboring conditions, and to create a true respect in Natives and in other persons with whom they deal for the letter and spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution and laws of the United States.

All descendants of the aboriginal races of North America are eligible to full membership; their spouses may become full members, except that they may not hold any of the Grand Offices; and other persons may become associate or honorary members by unanimous vote of the local camp or Grand Camp.

To carry out the purposes of the organization, provision is made for the payment of benefits for sickness or injury, and for contributions to the funeral expenses of members. Local camps have a Citizenship Committee "who shall endeavor to get as many members to exercise their privilege of voting as possible," a School Committee (ANS) to cooperate with the government teacher in insuring attendance of the children at school, an Improved Home Life Committee (ANS) to report on health and cleanliness of each home, and make recommendations for improvement that must be carried out by the members criticized.[53] The oath of membership involves support of the Constitution of the United States, as well as an appeal to the Heavenly Father for wisdom and strength. Of recent years, the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the American Federation of Labor have cooperated in matters affecting the pay of fishermen and cannery workers, etc. The Grand Camp has a Fisheries Committee. The organization has, I believe, played a part in the election of native members to the Territorial Legislature, and in 1950 were supporting the movement for Alaska Statehood, although the individual members seemed to be divided on this issue in the same proportion as the white citizens of Alaska.

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[53] Though provided for by the constitution, I do not know how active these committees are. However, the various types of benefits provided for above are commonly paid, the local ANS often holding social events to raise money for the needy.

The large building, standing on piling above the beach at the Chatham Strait end of the original beaver trail (pl. 1), was built in 1917 as a community hall, the year the town council was organized. The whole community cooperated in its erection. The timber was cut in Gut Bay and taken to Warm Springs Bay, Baranof Island, where there was a sawmill. The people apparently made some arrangement whereby they had to pay only for the shingles. The kitchen, where food for social gatherings was prepared, was originally upstairs, but it was too hard for the old people to go up and down, so a ground-floor addition with a new kitchen was built in 1929, the year of the ANB convention at Angoon and the same year that the new schoolhouse was also built. At that time, practically everyone in town joined the ANB and ANS, and the town hall now functions as, and is called the ANB Hall. Public notices are posted on the door; it seems to serve for meetings of all kinds, including parties and dances, and various local basketball clubs play in it. The hall is said to be too short for such games, so there is talk of extending the building out farther over the beach. A number of men use the shelter below it for working on their skiffs.

There are several electric light plants in Angoon: that supplying the community line, those for the school and for each of the two stores, and the last for the post office and weather station. The community first acquired the public plant in 1924–25. The present diesel motor supplies current for the lights along the main boardwalks, and light and power for the houses. Many of the families have electric washing machines, and also gasoline machines to use in summer when the town current is usually shut off. The people also have a number of radios. Each household is taxed about $10 a year for current.

In June 1928 the native settlement at Killisnoo was destroyed by fire. This is reported by some to have started in a house with a dirty or defective stove pipe. According to others, the fire was due to sabotage. They say there had been a strange Japanese living in that house for about 2 weeks, taking photographs of everything. He waited until the north wind was blowing, so the people didn't have a chance, then threw gasoline on his stove and went off in his boat with all his things. The people were so upset that they did not try to catch him. This is the third case reported to us in which arson has been suspected, the other two being attributed to personal malice. While it is commonly recognized that carelessness alone may lead to serious conflagrations, since the wooden buildings are highly inflammable and there is no adequate means of fighting fires, it is interesting that arson should have been suggested in so many cases. A number of families that had been living at Killisnoo had begun to drift back to Angoon in 1915 when the herring plant, then operated by the Alaska Fish Salting and By-Products Company, was temporarily closed down. This last disaster forced the abandonment of the place, and resulted in the growth of Angoon. The herring plant seems to have operated spasmodically in the 1920's under the National Fish and Salting Company and later the Killisnoo Packing Company, but operations were finally suspended in 1931, we were told. The summer cabins of the native workers were occupied during World War II by 35 Aleuts evacuated from Atka. Now a number of these shacks have been moved to Angoon to relieve the housing shortage, acute here as in so many Alaskan towns. It is felt that housing conditions are aggravated by the small size of the town site, the boundaries of which are so drawn that even the Kootznahoo Store and the Trail Store lie outside the town limits. But this does not explain why only a very few natives have sought to acquire home sites outside the town proper.

The most important recent event affecting Angoon came in 1936 when an amendment to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 extended the benefits of this legislation to Alaska. Under the provisions of this law, the Angoon Community Association was incorporated, and adopted a constitution and bylaws, which were duly ratified by a vote of 72 for and 3 against on November 15, 1939. The charter authorizes the Community Association to purchase, own, and manage community property, to make contracts, and to borrow money from the Federal Government for community business purposes or to lend to individual members. Income from community investments, above that needed to pay interest or to refund debts, can be used for social, educational, or relief purposes. These powers, according to the constitution, are vested in 7 elected members. The charter prohibits the sale or mortgage of lands, fishing or mineral rights, in areas which might be set aside for a reservation.[54] The constitution provides that the choice of legal counsel and the fees to be paid him must be approved by the Secretary of the Interior.

In January 1948 a law and order code, adapted from those in effect on reservations in the States, was adopted by the new Community Association. This established an Angoon Native Village Court, consisting of a chief judge and three assistants, appointed and paid by the Village Council, and having jurisdiction over members of the Community Association. A Village Police Force of four men is also authorized. The court is empowered to try civil cases involving claims up to $200, and to impose sentences for offenses up to $60 (for carrying concealed weapons). Assault, theft, fraud, disorderly conduct, liquor violations, adultery, etc., receive lighter penalties. These fines and court costs may be worked off at the rate of $5 a day, or served out at the equivalent of $2 for each day in jail. Interestingly enough we heard nothing about any civil or criminal cases at Angoon, and I doubt if the community has a jail.

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[54] According to recent Federal legislation, the creation of such a reservation is now impossible.

There was some opposition to the adoption of the community charter. This had come, we were told by one man, from persons like himself, who believed that the people could not possibly pay back the Government money they might borrow, and that they would fall so deeply in debt that the Government would "put them on a reservation." (A common attitude toward reservations, we found, involved the belief that they were places where natives would be to some extent confined, or would in some fashion lose their personal freedom. It is also suspected that the creation of a reservation, although guaranteeing certain territorial rights, would in exchange force the surrender of others outside the reservation to which the people feel equally entitled.) Our informant was, however, unable to sway public opinion at Angoon, because one of the men who spoke in favor of the charter was a chief who had been trained by his father and uncles as an orator. Our informant told us that when he saw the benefits from the IRA, he admitted that he had been wrong.

These benefits have been twofold. First, the purse-seiners and smaller trollers, essential for commercial fishing, were originally financed by mortgages held by private firms, mostly canneries. These boats cost from $15,000 to $22,000, and in bad fishing years it has not only been impossible to meet the mortgage payments, but operating costs may even increase the owner's indebtedness. Now the community has been able to take over the mortgages, thereby preventingforec losures in some cases; and, further, the more liberal terms of the Federal loan to the community have made payments easier.

More important, however, has been the purchase by the community of the salmon cannery at Hood Bay in November 1947. It was operated in 1948 by the Whiz Fish Products Company under lease, but in 1949 the community itself initiated operation. The council hired the manager, a white man with many years' experience in the field, and he in turn selected the rest of the crew. These consist primarily of the "inside foreman" and his expert assistants (in charge of the complex canning machinery), the "outside foreman" (in charge of docks, fish traps, etc.), the storekeeper, and the bookkeeper; these were all white men. This was because these positions require special skills, which the natives have not yet learned. The very responsible positions, however, of commanding the cannery tender and barge would both have been filled by natives, but only one competent man was available because the rest preferred the excitement of fishing. Most of the Angoon men fish for the cannery, and most of their wives work on the cannery line. However, in order to fill some of the heavier and more dangerous inside jobs for which men are needed, it was necessary to employ a small crew of Filipinos. All workers received union wages, and the fish are bought at standard prices.

It has been of the greatest social consequence to the community that its members have been thus united in a common enterprise. The people are not only conscious of the economic benefits, but also take a real pride in their business. It removes them from a position of indebtedness to a packing company and of social inferiority to its white owners and managers, a position which in some cases can amount to virtual peonage. For these reasons, the cannery represents the realization of ambition; it is a source of hope, of inspiration for the young people. Before, as one informant expressed it, even though the men had sailed on these waters and knew them thoroughly, no white man would give them the responsibility of piloting a big barge or cannery tender. Now they can have such jobs, and their sons can look forward to having them, too.

We were told that the loan from the Government to buy the cannery amounted to $258,000, with 20 years allowed in which to liquidate it, although payments had to begin in 5 years' time. The season of 1949 was so successful that $130,000 was paid back to the Government, and in addition there were funds available for the purchase of needed equipment. (We were unable to check this information.) There were also plans to use the anticipated profits for establishing new enterprises that could afford year-round sources of income: a sawmill or a cold storage plant (for halibut, cod, red snappers, and king salmon). The fishing season of 1950 was, however, very poor.

The community is at present debating a proposal to move from Angoon to Hood Bay. Those in favor of such a move cite the nearness to the cannery, the present crowded condition of Angoon, and the abundant supply of good water and the safe harbor at Hood Bay, features lacking at Angoon. Their opponents point to the rugged terrain near the cannery which leaves insufficient room, they claim, for a village; the cost of building new houses; and the alleged freezing over of the head of the bay in winter. We gathered that opinion for and against the move was fairly evenly divided, with the younger families in general favoring the change, and the older members opposed. Probably influencing some of the latter is the fact that they own lineage houses at Angoon, but could not afford to have new lineage houses erected at another village, especially since their younger relatives would be unwilling or reluctant to finance the necessary house-building potlatch. Also, there is the natural attachment to their old home, a feeling which expresses itself in appreciation of the open view across Chatham Strait [55] and the aversion to being shut in at Hood Bay. Some feel that if a move is made, it must be by the community as a whole, because of legal and financial problems involved, and the necessity of schooling for their children. It is also felt that it will take several years before a decision to move or to stay can be reached. In the meantime, improvements or repairs to property at Angoon which might otherwise be undertaken are in some cases postponed. A number of families are instead improving their summer cabins at the cannery or building new houses there which could be used either as comfortable summer houses during the fishing season or as permanent dwellings. This issue is, perhaps, the one most likely to threaten the solidarity of the community, and it might indeed lead to the eventual splitting of Angoon into two villages.[56]

CONCLUSIONS

To the study of the history of the northern Tlingit, especially the Xutsnuwedi of Angoon, we have made a beginning. This has demonstrated that archeological, ethnological, and historical data, if combined and analyzed together, can give a deeper insight than any one type of material or one methodology alone.

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[55] The love of sitting motionless for hours, gazing out to sea, is one which has received comment from early travelers. Erman suggested a religious significance; Krause (1885, p. 165) thought it was to study the weather. I think it reflects simply esthetic enjoyment of the changing panorama of sea and sky, and curiosity about the movements of birds, animals, and passing boats.

[56] Since the above was written, an outbreak of witchcraft fears at Angoon was reported in the press for April 26–29, 1957. This began when a young girl of 16 claimed that her baby had been killed by witchcraft 2 weeks before and that she herself had been bewitched by 20 persons since 1952. Another girl, 12 years old, joined her in holding nightly seances in which they made vague prophecies of strange occurrences and accused others of witchcraft. All the latter were so-called "nonbelievers." A number of previously skeptical persons became "believers" when certain individuals, who it was predicted would fall sick, were actually affected by a virus epidemic that struck the village. One man thought that he saw another turn into a bird and fly away, because the older girl had told him that something would happen that night to convince him. The girls also testified that they had been transformed into cats on several occasions when touched by a human (?) bone held by one of the witches during midnight rites in the cemetery and that they had seen a witch turn into a cat herself. The baby died because the witch cut off a piece of its clothing and buried this with dead cats under the house.

The current manifestation follows in part the aboriginal patterns of witchcraft fears and, like the latter, also reflects social tensions and anxieties, although the present ones seem to be more diffuse and are not, as was once the tradition, centered on jealousy and trouble within the lineage or sib (de Laguna, 1952, p. 8). As a matter of fact, there is little to distinguish this Angoon witchcraft episode from similar incidents which occur from time to time in farming communities not 75 miles from my own home in Pennsylvania.

Interpretation of history involves an understanding of the motives of human beings, and demands, if we are to read aright the events, that we should see them, as far as possible, through the eyes of the participants. Indian and white man can become mutually intelligible only through the sympathetic translations of the anthropologist, who usually begins his task long after the events have taken place. Too seldom is he aided by the insights of contemporaries like Captain Beardslee, who studied "the laws, customs and superstitions of the Indians," but he must bring his own understanding of their culture to illumine and amplify the incomplete report of their behavior.

The biases and prejudices of the white man's records and of the native's traditions must not only be perceived and reconciled if possible, but the reasons for bias must be understood. There were apparently members of the Angoon group in 1882 prepared to protect the officials of the Northwest Trading Company against the Indians who demanded compensation for the death of the Decitan shaman and who threatened to kill the white hostages. Were these "friendly Indians" perhaps the Teq^{w}edi? This is suggested by the fact that the property of the Teq^{w}edi chief (of Valley House?) was spared by Merriman. Did this difference in attitude toward the whites perhaps reflect factions within the community based on intersib or interlineage rivalries? Why have the people of Angoon apparently forgotten the part played by these friendly Indians, so that according to the stories we heard all the people seem to have acted together, or been equally innocent sufferers? Is it because the natives now feel themselves equally threatened by encroachment, restrictive legislation and taxation, sources of discomfort and anxiety which revive the memory of Angoon's destruction and remind them of common Indian interests? Perhaps further probing might bring to light traditions of the different roles played by particular individuals in 1882, assuming that the ethnologist could stay long enough at Angoon to win the confidence of members of all the lineages. Again, how are we to interpret the striking omissions and the particular slants in the accounts by Morris and Merriman? Did the former actually welcome the affair at Angoon because it justified his dire predictions and because it could be used, as indeed it was, to force Congress to take Alaska seriously? Does Merrimam betray vindictiveness toward the Indians because they had not docilely accepted his views of their proper role, not simply in relation to the whites in general but to himself, the Naval officer, the "Senior Officer Present"? Was he possibly led to greater harshness than his conscience really approved? Is that why we find this curious combination of avowed concern to make the natives "look upon the man-of-war as their best friend" with, if we are to trust Mrs. Willard, a readiness to annihilate the entire tribe? Does this last reported statement express the unconscious wish to wipe out the doubts of the wisdom and justice of what he had already done?

Although it is interesting to speculate upon the motivations of individuals, as individual personalities, this is not our primary task. We have rather to understand these men as playing roles arising from and dictated by the social and cultural patterns of their own worlds. For the most part we shall never know much about them as individuals and this will be particularly true as we go farther back into the past. We may indeed have sufficient insight into the character of Baranof, but what about his adversary, Kaʟian, chief of the Kɪksᴀdi? And in any case, events were not shaped by these two men alone. Each acted within the framework of his culture, in conjunction with other members of his society. To understand what happened at Sitka, it is not enough to know the policies and methods of the Russian American Company; we need also to grasp the structure of the native Sitkan community, how it functioned, and what were, for example, the relations between the Sitkan Kɪksᴀdi and the other Sitkan sibs, and between these and their relatives and enemies in other Tlingit tribes. From what we learned at Angoon this would be a fruitful field for research, especially interesting since the Russians themselves seem to have understood but imperfectly the forces at work in Tlingit society. There are many similar problems in the history of the northern Tlingit.

It has been claimed with justice that every people live their own myths, that is, that their conduct in the present reflects what they believe their past to have been, since that past, as well as the present and the future, are aspects of the "destiny" in which they exhibit themselves as they think they really are. The Tlingit themselves sense this and use the term "ha (our) cᴀgún" for the origin and destiny of their sib, including the totemic animal or bird encountered by their ancestors and the powers and prerogatives obtained from it, as well as their own place in the universe and the ultimate fate of their unborn descendants. This is something that goes beyond asking the historian to check the validity of native tradition, or attempting through native tradition to check the accuracy of historical documents. Rather it poses for us the problem of how a people view their history, and in these pages we have discussed some of the methods by which a solution may be approached. Still further, we must in every case discover what is the significant social unit involved. It is obvious that we cannot lump all Tlingit together as one nation if we wish to understand their past and their present and what these mean to them, nor can we take one tribe as a single entity in discussing events at Angoon or Sitka. Rather, as we have tried to show, we must deal with the Decitan, the Teqʷedi, the KɪksAdi, as the "nations" that inspired "patriotism" (to quote our informants), as the groups that have acted as units in terms of what they believed it meant to be Decitan, or Teqʷedi, or KɪksAdi. To what extent separate sib alinements may have crossed and fused is a problem of importance equal to that of understanding the significance of their separate traditions and attitudes toward themselves.

Since we have not found archeological material that can with certainty be referred to a period antedating early contacts with Europeans, we have not been able to outline an ancient stage in the development of northern Tlingit culture. Obviously more archeological work is needed in the Angoon area. There are, however, promising sites for further exploration: Marten Fort in Hood Bay and some of the reported forts in Peril Strait, the village sites at Whitewater Bay and Sitkoh Bay, and the reported sites at Todd, Tenakee, and Freshwater Bay. Of particular interest would be Grouse Fort on Icy Strait with its midden and house pits, since it is from the inhabitants of this place that lineages at Hoonah, Sitka, and Angoon trace their descent. Cultural influences moving southward to Angoon may well have left their imprint here; according to tradition the people of Grouse Fort had connections with the Chilkat, the Yakutat, and the interior Athabaskans.

It is, of course, impossible to predict what site, now known or still awaiting discovery, may prove crucial in revealing interconnections between the various tribes. Perhaps the early chapters may forever remain hidden from us. Yet ethnological evidence of regional diversity in Tlingit culture makes this a subject to which the archeologist should give his attention. We will not understand Angoon until we can clearly see it in the perspective of likeness to and difference from other Tlingit groups, and until we can trace the shifting patterns of resemblances and divergences through time.

Although traditions concerning a number of ancient settlements did not coincide with archeological evidence of early occupation, we must not think that all problems common to the archeologist and ethnologist simply mean verifying native stories by the spade. Rather, the relationship between archeology and ethnology is a reciprocal one, involving the interpretation of the excavator's finds through knowledge of native custom and tradition and equally the illumination or illustration of native report through the antiquities unearthed.

What do we know about the beginnings of Angoon? If archeology should fail us, is there any other evidence that might point to the origins of its inhabitants? Swanton has implied that the sib migration stories of the Tlingit may be used as clues to their past:

> The Tlingit quite uniformly trace the origin of nearly all their clans to the Tsimshian coast "below Port Simpson"; that is, to the neighborhood of the mouth of the Skeena river. It is said by some that nearly all the present clans immigrated in this manner, and that most of the "old Alaskans," those whom they found in possession, have died out. [Swanton obtained the names of some of these latter groups but believes that] many are very small and are more likely to have been subdivisions than surviving groups. The only point that may have significance is the fact that nearly all so enumerated were of the Raven clan. There are several other bits of evidence which seem to show that the distinction between the two phratries was of more importance historically than would at first appear. [It is possible, he suggests, that the distinction between the two moieties] could have been associated originally with a racial difference, and such a possibility again presents itself when we come to consider the origins of the separate clan divisions. [Swanton, 1908, pp. 407 f.]

These stories deal with migrations from the north or south or interior into the present Tlingit territory and also with population movements within it. Thus, if we examine the origin stories of the groups now or formerly claiming rights in the Angoon area, we find that the G̣anᴀx̣ᴀdi and Teqʷedi came from the far south; the Decitan, Wᴜckitan, and Dᴀqł'awedi from the interior; and the 'Anx̣akhıtan are supposedly half Haida. Even the Kagwantan, who though fairly well represented at Angoon are still not established in the community, trace their descent from the north. Were there then no admittedly autochthonous inhabitants? We have only vague mention of the "Kelp People" at Tyee or possibly of the Tsagʷedi at Hood Bay and Eliza Harbor to suggest that there were any people living in the area before these migrations.

These stories should not be interpreted as mass migrations of whole sibs; as Garfield has pointed out, they refer usually to single lineages, the inhabitants of one house (Garfield, 1947, p. 451). They recount, therefore, the traditional or legendary history of certain important family lines, represented by a chief and his immediate relatives. If other groups were involved they are simply not mentioned, and the archeological evidence nowhere suggests large settlements or even very numerous ones. We cannot believe, therefore, that large populations accompanied the chief or were absorbed by his lineage or sib. If we try to interpret these stories as history, we can never be sure to what period or periods they refer, although, as suggested, the movement of the Teqʷedi to the Angoon area may have been only in the early 19th century, and the other migrations are perhaps not very old either. Do these stories refer primarily to the spread of lineage and sib organization, of titles and crests carried by a handful of chiefs? Was it perhaps from the mouth of the Skeena River that the framework of Tlingit social organization was derived?

Whatever the interpretation we may make, these stories are not to be dismissed as purely fanciful. Thus, Emmons in 1911 published a fairly detailed version of the meeting of natives from Grouse Fort with La Pérouse in 1786 at Lituya Bay, in which are not only recorded the names of certain chiefs involved but such specific incidents as the loss of some of La Pérouse's boats in the tide rips, a tragedy fully described by La Pérouse himself (Emmons, 1911; La Pérouse, 1937, pp. 25–32). We heard a briefer version of the same story at Yakutat in 1949, and at least one of our Angoon informants was familiar with it, but lacked sufficient command of English to tell it. This is proof that in some respects Tlingit traditions may be trusted for a century and a half. A number of traditions referring to glacial movements are also in accord with geological evidence.

Although we have no accurate census figures before 1880, by which time several disastrous epidemics had already swept southeastern Alaska, it seems to be quite evident that the northern Tlingit population was never very large in comparison with populations of the neighboring areas. Thus, Kroeber, using Mooney's figures, estimates 2,500 for the northern Tlingit and 7,500 for the southern Tlingit. This amounts to a density of 10 persons per 100 square kilometers for the northern Tlingit and 10.10 for the southern, as compared with 64.70 for the Aleut, 30.60 for the Kodiak Eskimo, 95.10 for the Haida, and 31.80 for the Tsimshian proper. If we go farther south to the peoples of Vancouver Island and the opposite mainland areas we again reach densities comparable to those of the Aleut and Kodiak.[57] Since Kroeber feels that the length of shoreline is a more accurate method of estimating territorial resources for a coastal people than is land area, he also computes density of population per mile of shore line, and arrives at rather similar conclusions. Thus, he finds 4.60 persons per mile of coast for the Aleut, 8.20 for the Haida, 7.00 for the Tsimshian, even 20.00 for the Puget Sound Salish, but only 2.50 for the Tlingit (Kroeber, 1939, p. 170). No large sites have ever been reported from the Tlingit area, whereas large archeological sites are known both from British Columbia and southwestern Alaska and these increase in size and number as we turn west toward the Aleutians or approach the mouth of the Fraser River. The archeological evidence, incomplete as it is, supports these estimates of aboriginal population, and suggests that in the past the northern Tlingit were anything but numerous, although the area in which they lived could apparently have supported much greater numbers. Certainly the concentration in a few large villages, tribal "capitals" such as Sitka, Hoonah, Juneau, and Angoon, is a phenomenon of the past fifty or sixty years in most instances, to be explained probably by the shift from subsistence hunting and fishing to commercial fishing supplemented by other paid occupations, and the lure of the trading post.

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[57] Kroeber, 1939, p. 135. His figures for the Chugach and "Ugalakmiut" may be omitted because of the confusion between the Eskimo and the Eyak.

Such evidence as we have suggests a brief expansion of Tlingit population, of no very great age, an expansion due in part to immigration from outside the Tlingit area and in part to internal growth. Pressure by the Haida and Tsimshian may explain the movements from the south; interior Athabaskans and northerners may have responded to the attractions of the archipelago. Is it possible that this population growth was due to contact with the Europeans whose trade made possible a richer life in Tlingit coastal areas? Kroeber suggests that the northern Northwest Coast culture represents a relatively recent adjustment from river or sheltered inlet to the more open shore, and that the cultural elaboration among the southern Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian, to whom the northern Tlingit owed so much, culminated only in the 19th century (Kroeber, 1939, pp. 29–31, 156). In his analysis of Eyak culture, Birket-Smith not only demonstrates that these people must be regarded as having preserved in large part the patterns of early Northwest Coast culture before this culmination, but suggests that the Eyak themselves may once have even occupied northern Tlingit territory (Birket-Smith and de Laguna, 1938, pp. 530 f.). The Eyak were certainly the original inhabitants of the Gulf of Alaska from the Copper River almost to the Alsek River, and while we do not know whether they ever lived in southeastern Alaska, further archeological investigations may well reveal the presence here of small settlements with a similar culture, more fitted to life at the mouths of rivers or along sheltered beaches than on the wide straits. Was it to the Haida, as suggested by ’Anx̣̓akhıtan traditions, that the northern Tlingit owed the perfected canoes that enabled them to conquer the open waterways and the sea? Were they just beginning to exploit fully their favorable maritime environment when population expansion and cultural enrichment were cut short by the collapse of the fur trade and the ravages of epidemics introduced by the white man?

Lastly, it will be remembered that Lieutenant Whidbey observed that "on both sides of the entrance [to Kootznahoo Inlet ?] some new habitations were constructing." Are we perhaps justified in suspecting that he was actually witnessing the founding of settlements at Turn Point and Angoon, or the establishment there of those immigrants who were to become known later as the Decitan? Is the story of Angoon one that has unfolded only within the past 160 years?

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APPENDIX

In the following tabulations are summarized the character and contents of the cultural deposits for each square excavated on the shelf and saddle of Daxatkanada Island (see figs. 10 to 13). The number of identified animal bones is given after the name of the species. The field or catalog number and reference to illustrations are indicated in brackets for each artifact.

The proveniences of specimens recovered from other parts of Daxatkanada Island and from other sites are summarized at the end.

DAXATKANADA ISLAND

SQUARE A3E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1
Marmot 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton

Incised slate blade [8, fig. 15, *f*]
Red baked paintstone [5]
Rubbing tool [7]
Sandstone cup [6]

6–12 inches: midden

Giant chiton

Rubbing tool [15]

SQUARE B3E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 3
Sea lion or whale 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

Pestle fragment [3]
Sandstone cup [4]
Marble saw [10, pl. 7, *r*]
Rubbing tool [25]
Chipped marble tool [12, pl. 6, *j*]
Chipped schist tool [11]
Incised stone tablet [9, fig. 15, *d*]

6–12 inches: midden

Worked bone [61]
Clamshell with punched hole [14]

12–18 inches: midden

Rubbing tool [16, pl. 7, *b*]

18–24 inches: midden

Toggle harpoon head, iron stained [13, pl. 8, *b*]

SQUARES C3E AND D3E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 1

Shale whetstone [31]
Marble scraper [102]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1

Incised stone tablet [77, fig. 15, *c*]

12–18 inches: midden

No specimens

Just below 18 inches: midden

Barbed head fragment [63, pl. 8, *f*]
Shale bead [64, pl. 10, *q*]
Copper tinkler [65, pl. 10, *l*]

SQUARE E3E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Seal 1
Land otter 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific gaper clam
Cockle

Adz fragment [126]
Shale whetstone [104]
Clamshell scraper ? [127]
Quartz chip [103]
Barb for gaff hook [125, pl. 9, *l*]
Worked whale bone [124]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 5
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Frilled dogwinkle

Worked whale bone [133]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 6
Seal 4
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Blue mussel

Sandstone cup [139, pl. 6, *e*]
Ulo blade [140, pl. 7, *p*]
Bone cut with stone tool [138]

18–24 inches: midden

No specimens

24–30 inches: midden

No specimens

SQUARE F3E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

Toggle harpoon head [114, pl. 8, *c*]
Double-pointed bone pin [113]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 6
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Seal 6
Deer 1

Yellow shale pencil [142]
Bone pin fragment [144]
Bird-bone point [143]
Cut bone [uncat.]

18–24 inches: dark forest humus

Seal 4

Barbed harpoon head [141, pl. 8, *h*]

24–30 inches: dark forest humus

No specimens

SQUARE G3E (not excavated)

SQUARE H3E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Seal 2

Hammerstone [204]

SQUARE A2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Charred human incisor [21]

Hammerstone [19]
Rubbing tool [24]
Barb from harpoon head [22]
Baked red paintstone [23]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1
Porpoise 1
Macoma clam

Red baked paintstone [95]
2 sandstone, 1 shale whetstones [79, 99, 100]
2 rubbing tools [93, 94]
Marble scraper ? [96]
Slender bone pin [97, pl. 9, *w*]
Bird-bone tube [80, pl. 9, *y*]
Worked sea otter molar [92, pl. 10, *m*]

12–18 inches: ash

Dog or wolf 1

18–24 inches: ash

No specimens

SQUARE B2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Sea lion or whale 1
Smooth Washington clam
Dogwinkle

Shale whetstone [301]
Shale pebble whetstone [39]
2 rubbing tools [38, 41]
Stone rubbing amulet ? [35]
Sandstone bowl [36, pl. 6, *f*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Frilled dogwinkle

Rubbing tool [17, pl. 7, *k*]
Chipped schist tool [29]
Barbed head fragment [2]
Sea lion tooth pendant [18, pl. 10, *d*]

12–18 inches: ash

Barbed harpoon head, cut with steel tool ? [1, pl. 8, *d*]

SQUARE C2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1
Sea lion or whale 1
Bear 1
Beaver 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

Shale whetstone [26]
Bone awl [42]
Chert flake [62, surface–12 inches]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Seal 5
Porpoise 1
Deer 1
Beaver 1
Dog or wolf 3
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Common chiton
Cockle
Blue mussel
Frilled dogwinkle

Stone lamp ? [302, pl. 4, *a*]
Red baked paintstone [60, 69]
Shale whetstone [59]
3 rubbing tools [40, 76; 71, pl. 7, *a*]
Barbed harpoon head [70, pl. 8, *g*]
Bone pin fragment [101]
Whale bone cut with stone tool [72]
2 cut bird bones [57, 78]
Shale bead [55, pl. 10, *o*]

12–18 inches: midden; dark forest humus ?

Sea otter 3
Seal 2
Sea lion or whale 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Land snail

Red baked paintstone and yellowsh alc pencil [83]
2 hammerstones [uncat.]
Marble saw [82]
3 rubbing tools [84, 85, 86]
Chipped schist tool [98, pl. 6, *k*]
Boulder chip [66]
Double-pointed bone pin [67, pl. 9, *e*]
Bird-bone point [81]
Worked bone [68]
Brass thimble [87, pl. 10, *ff*]

18–24 inches: dark forest humus ?

Sea otter 2

Double-pointed bone pin [90, pl. 9, *a*]
Cut bird bone [91]
Bird bone bead [89, pl. 10, *x*]
Jet bead, drilled with steel tool? [88, pl. 10, *u*]

24–30 inches: dark forest humus ?; subsoil ?

Rubbing tool [129]
Cut bird bone [128]

SQUARE D2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Cockle
Common chiton
File dogwinkle
Channeled dogwinkle

Toy sandstone cup [37]
Pumice lump [27]
2 rubbing tools [32, 33]
Chipped schist tool [28]
Bird bone point [43]
Cut bird bone [54]
Bone nose ? pin [44, pl. 10, *k*]
Incised shale pendant [34]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 6
Seal 4
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific gaper clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Blue mussel

Sandstone cup [51, pl. 6, *d*]
Whetstone [uncat.]
2 chipped schist tools [52, 53]
Chert flake [45]
Bird bone point [48, pl. 9, *i*]
Worked whale bone [49]
Shale bead [46, pl. 10, *p*]
Marble disk with pit [74, pl. 10, *ee*]
Stone disk inlay ? [47, pl. 10, *r*]

12–18 inches: midden

Dog or wolf 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

Rubbing tool [75]

18–24 inches: dark forest humus

No specimens

24–30 inches: dark forest humus

No specimens

SQUARE E2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Common chiton

2 rubbing tools [111, 112]
Double-pointed bone pin [109]
Barbed bird-bone point [107, pl. 9, *h*]
Worked whale bone [108]
Stone labret [105, pl. 10, *z*]
Stone disk inlay ? [106, pl. 10, *s*]
Carved bone fragment [110, pl. 10, *y*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 6
Seal 3
Bear 1
Beaver 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Land snail

Red baked paintstone [117]
Bone point [115]
Bone awl or drill fragment [116]
Worked bone [uncat.]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 10
Seal 8
Deer 1
Beaver 1
Barnacle

Red baked paintstone [159]
Yellow shale pencil [165]
3 rubbing tools [135, 156, 163]
Double-pointed bone pin [134]
Worked bone [164]
Bear canine cut for bead [157, pl. 10, *h*]

18–24 inches: dark forest humus

Sea otter 1
Seal 2

Incised rubbing tool [167]
Basalt flake [168, pl. 6, *l*]
Sea otter tooth pendant [152, pl. 10, *c*]
Stone labret [166, pl. 10, *bb*]

24–30 inches: dark forest humus

Porpoise 1

30–36 inches: dark forest humus; subsoil

Rubbing tool [160]

SQUARE F2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Seal 2
Porpoise 1
Bear 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
File dogwinkle

Barbed harpoon head fragment [118]
Double-pointed bone pin [122]
Bird-bone point [123]
2 unfinished harpoon heads ? [119, 120]
Bird-bone bead [121, pl. 10, *w*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 1
Bear 1

Bone weapon point [123, pl. 9, *m*]
Double-pointed bone pin [137]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 4
Bear 1
Marmot 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Channeled dogwinkle

Rubbing tool [146]
Oval marble scraper ? [145, pl. 6, *g*]
Butt of bone dagger ? [132, pl. 9, *t*]
Bone cut with steel tool [130]
Bone cut with stone tool [131]

18–24 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Sea otter 2
Porpoise 1
Deer 1
Marmot 1
Cockle

Red baked paintstone [147]
Barbed head fragment [148, pl. 8, *e*]
Bone point fragment [149]

24–30 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Seal 4
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Giant chiton
Land snail

4 rubbing tools [172, pl. 7, *g*; 173, 174, 267]
Chert flake [175]
2 double-pointed bone pins [150, pl. 9, *g*; 169, pl. 9, *b*]
Bone pin frag. [170]
Cut bird bone [151]
Worked whale bone [171]

30–36 inches: dark forest humus

Smooth Washington clam

Ground lump of cannel coal [161]

SQUARE G2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Macoma clam
Cockle
Channeled dogwinkle
Land snail

Baked claystone cup [154]
Red baked paintstone [153]
Double-pointed bone pin [155, pl. 9, *c*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 8
Seal 1
Deer 1
Dog or wolf 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

Barbed harpoon head [176, pl. 8, *j*]
Cut bone [158]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Shield limpet
Channeled dogwinkle
Land snail

Hammerstone [180, pl. 5, *f*]
Rubbing tool [181]
2 cut bones [uncat.]
Ornamental bone strip [162, pl. 10, *i*]

18–24 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Seal 2
Porpoise 1
Bear 2
Beaver 1
Marmot 2
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Frilled dogwinkle
Channeled dogwinkle
Plate limpet
Shield limpet

Hammerstone [214]
Whetstone [213]
Cut bone [177]
Drilled bear jaw [178, pl. 10, *hh*]
Wooden peg [uncat.]
Wooden post cut by steel ax [pl. 4, *c*]

SQUARE H2E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 3
Seal 1
Smooth Washington clam
Cockle

Chipped schist tool [188]
Sea otter tooth pendant [246, pl. 10, *b*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Macoma clam
Cockle
Land snail

Double-pointed bone pin [190]
Cut bird bone [189]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 13
Seal 2
Porpoise 1
Dog or wolf 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Pacific gaper clam
Cockle
Land snail

2 Rubbing tools [202, 210]
Barbed harpoon head, steel cut [198, pl. 8, *l*]
Slender bone pin [227, pl. 9, *x*]
Cut bone [211]
Wooden peg [uncat.]

18–24 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Seal 1
Sea lion or whale 1
Bear 1
Common chiton
Oregon triton

24–30 inches: midden

Sea otter 5
Seal 1
Porpoise 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Land snail

Wooden post and peg [uncat.]

SQUARE A1E (not excavated)

SQUARE B1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 1
Deer 1
Bear 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam

Red baked paintstone [184]
3 rubbing tools [182, 185; 183, pl. 7, *i*]
Chert flake [186]
Blue talc chip [187]

6–12 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Sea otter 1
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Elderberry seeds (in humus)

2 rubbing tools [207, 208]
Boulder chip [209]

12–18 inches: subsoil

Beaver 1

SQUARE C1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 4
Channeled dogwinkle

Shale whetstone [217]
2 rubbing tools [216, 220]
Double-pointed bone pin [219]
Gaff hook barb [218, pl. 9, *k*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 5
Seal 3

Barbed harpoon head [279, pl. 8, *n*]

12–18 inches: burned subsoil

Human tooth [258]

SQUARE D1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2

Rubbing tool [256]
Bone-point fragment [uncat.]
Cut bone [225]
Cut bird bone [226]
Ivory bead [255, pl. 10, *n*]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 3
Smooth Washington clam
Barnacle

Rubbing tool fragment [278]
Cut bone [206]

12–18 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Sea otter 2
Seal 1
Smooth Washington clam

2 hammerstones [347 a, b; 348]

18–24 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Porpoise 1
Smooth Washington clam

Whetstone [375]
Chert flake [376]

24–30 inches: dark forest humus?; subsoil

Bear 1
Smooth Washington clam

SQUARE E1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Seal 2
Deer 1
Cockle
Barnacle

Rubbing tool [191]
Broken bird bone tube [192]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 4
Porpoise 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Sitka periwinkle
Barnacle
Land snail

Pestle fragment [197]
Shale whetstone [193]
Utilized chert core [196]
Bone rod [194, pl. 9, *v*]
Whale bone cut with steel tool [195]
Shell pendant [205, pl. 10, *e*]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 10
Seal 1
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Kennerley's Venus clam
Cockle
Blue mussel
Frilled dogwinkle
Channeled dogwinkle
Land snail

Boulder chip [374]
Unbarbed bone arrowhead ? [200]
2 bird bone points [221 and uncat.]
Barb for gaff hook [29–25–21]
Worked whale bone [122 a, b]
Worked bone [uncat.]
Bear canine cut for bead [223, pl. 10, *g*]
Stone bead or amulet [199]
Bird-bone bead fragment [224]

18–24 inches: midden ?

Sea otter 5
Seal 1
Sea lion or whale 1
Bear 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Blue mussel
Common chiton
Barnacle

2 rubbing tools [235, 236]
Worked mussel shell [237]

24–30 inches: midden ? dark forest humus ?

Pacific gaper clam
Common chiton
Frilled dogwinkle

Shale pebble whetstone [378]

SQUARE F1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 5
Seal 1
Marmot 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Giant chiton

Rubbing tool [203]
Worked bone [257]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 4
Seal 2
Deer 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Macoma clam
Cockle
Blue mussel
Common chiton

3 rubbing tools [252, 253; 254, pl. 7, *d*]
Barbed head recut as pin [355]
Double-pointed bone pin [356, pl. 9, *f*]
Bird-bone bead ? fragment [25]
Iron implement [311, pl. 10, *gg*]

12–18 inches: midden; dark midden

Sea otter 10
Seal 3
Smooth Washington clam

Bone point fragment [308]
Incised stone tablet [309, fig. 15, *b*]
Beaver tooth tool [316, pl. 9, *p*]

18–24 inches: midden; dark midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1
Porpoise 1
Dog or wolf 1

Red baked paintstone [372]
Hard rock whetstone [353]
Boulder chip scraper [371]
Awl ? [351]
Worked whale bone [352]
Worked bone [346]

24–30 inches: dark midden

Sea otter 4
Sea lion or whale 1

Rubbing tool [365]
Cracked quartz core [381]
Worked whale bone [364]

30–36 inches: dark midden; dark forest humus

Seal 2
Beaver 1

Double-pointed bone pin [326]

36–40 inches: dark forest humus; subsoil

Basalt core [380]

SQUARE G1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Smooth Washington clam
Cockle
Common chiton

Rubbing tool [306]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 6
Seal 2
Porpoise 1
Marmot 1

Splitting adz fragment reshaped as planing adz [342, pl. 6, *a*]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 3
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific gaper clam
Cockle
Whelk
False jingle

Worked bone [370]

18–24 inches: midden

Barbed harpoon head [343, pl. 8, *m*]

SQUARE H1E

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Beaver 1

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Seal 2
Smooth Washington clam
Plate limpet

Wooden handle ? [354]
Unbarbed bone arrowhead ? [363]

12–18 inches: midden; subsoil

Sea otter 6
Seal 1
Porpoise 1
Marmot 1
Blue mussel
Frilled dogwinkle
Whelk

Whetstone [341]
Barbed point frag. [327]

SQUARE A1W (not excavated)

SQUARE B1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 1

Chert flake [201]

6–12 inches: ash

No specimens

12–18 inches: subsoil

No specimens

SQUARE C1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 4
Barnacle

3 rubbing tools [229, 230, 231]
Double-pointed bone pin [228]

6–12 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Sea otter 5
Seal 1
Deer 1
Beaver 1
Land snail

Bird-bone bead [273]

12–18 inches: dark forest humus; subsoil

Sea otter 1

SQUARE D1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 7
Frilled dogwinkle
Land snail
Elderberry seeds

Red baked paintstone [243]
Double-pointed bone pin [241, pl. 9, *d*]
Beaver tooth tool [242, pl. 9, *o*]

6–12 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Sea otter 7
Seal 4
Blue mussel

Shale whetstone [250]
2 rubbing tools [247, 249]
Bone cut with steel knife [248]
War club head (in humus) [275, pl. 5, *c*]
Adz fragment (in humus) [276]

12–18 inches: dark forest humus

Sea otter 9
Seal 4
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Macoma clam
Cockle
Blue mussel
Frilled dogwinkle
Barnacle

Rubbing tool [314]
2 worked whale bones [297, 315]
Cut bone [336]

18–24 inches: dark forest humus

Sea otter 1

24–30 inches: dark forest humus

Sea otter 3
Seal 5
Porpoise 1
Cockle

Rubbing tool [351]

SQUARE E1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 3
Seal 3
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Common chiton
File dogwinkle

Rubbing tool [265]
Stone bead or amulet [266, pl. 10, *cc*]

6–12 inches: midden; dark forest humus

Sea otter 3
Seal 3
Land otter 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Pacific gaper clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Frilled dogwinkle
Shield limpet
Concentrated sea urchin spines
Barnacle
Land snail

Red baked paintstone [300]
Rubbing tool [299]
Whale bone cut with steel tool [298]

12–18 inches: dark forest humus

Pacific gaper clam

Bone pendant [286, pl. 10, *j*]

18–24 inches: dark forest humus

Hard rock whetstone [386]

SQUARE F1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Common chiton
Oregon triton

Hard rock whetstone [285]
Worked whale bone [284]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 5
Seal 2
Beaver 1
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific little neck clam
Cockle
Shield limpet
File dogwinkle
Barnacle

Red baked paintstone [337]
2 rubbing tools [280, 290]
Chipped schist tool [281, pl. 6, *h*]
Boulder chip [338]
Barb for gaff hook [289]
Bone pin or barb [277]
Worked whale bone [307]

12–18 inches: midden

No specimens

18–24 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Smooth Washington clam
Pacific gaper clam
Cockle
Blue mussel
Channeled dogwinkle
Whelk

2 rubbing tools [339, 340]
Worked whale bone [358]

24–30 inches: dark forest humus; subsoil

Chert flake [384]
Whetstone [383]
Barbed harpoon head [382]
Barbed wooden head fragment [388, in posthole]

SQUARE G1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 1
Cockle
Whelk

Whetstone [318]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 4
Porpoise 1
Cockle

Red baked paintstone [317]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 6
Seal 3
Truncate soft-shell clam
Cockle
Common chiton
Blue mussel
Channeled dogwinkle
Shield limpet

Rubbing tool [361]
Chert flake [362]
Worked bone [360]
Bone pin fragment [385]

18–24 inches: midden; subsoil

Sea otter 5
Seal 1
Deer 1
Bear 1

SQUARE H1W

Surface–6 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 4
Beaver 1

Wooden ulo handle ? [313]

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 4
Elderberry seeds

Whetstone [349]
Boulder chip [350]

12–18 inches: midden; subsoil

Bear 3

Ivory pendant with metal-cut dot-and-circle design [310, pl. 10, *f*]

SQUARE 0–U

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

No specimens

6–12 inches: midden; "guano"

No specimens

12–18 inches: dark midden

Sea otter 1

Hammerstone [379]

18–24 inches: dark midden

Sea otter 2
Seal 1
Smooth Washington clam

Red baked paintstone [392]
Whetstone [391]
Basalt flake [387]
Worked bone [389]
Stone bead [390, pl. 10, *dd*]

24–30 inches: dark midden

Barbed harpoon head [377, pl. 8, *i*]

SQUARE 0–T

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

No specimens

6–12 inches: midden; "guano"

Marble scraper? [319]
2 bone pins? [321, 322]
Worked bone [323]
Incised stone tablet [320, fig. 15, *e*]
Wooden peg [uncat.]

12–18 inches: dark midden

No specimens

18–24 inches: dark midden

Sea otter 1
Seal 1

Hammerstone [333]
Rubbing tool [331]
Cut bone [330]
Bone split for marrow [329]
Unfinished stone labret? [332]

24–30 inches: dark midden

Rubbing tool [344, pl. 7, *j*]
Antler dagger [335, pl. 9, *r*]
Butt of bone spearhead? [328, pl. 9, *s*]

SQUARE 0–S

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

Rubbing tool or reamer [288]

6–12 inches: midden; "guano"

Barb of harpoon head [282]
Glass bottle fragment [260]

12–18 inches: dark midden

Schist knife fragment [287]
Bone point fragment [259]
Bone cut with steel knife [uncat.]

SQUARE 1–U

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

No specimens

6–12 inches: midden

Rubbing tool [305, pl. 7, *h*]

12–18 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Smooth Washington clam

Hard rock whetstone [368]

18–24 inches: midden (?)

No specimens

24–30 inches: midden (?)

Hammerstone [345]

SQUARE 1–T

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

No specimens

6–12 inches: midden

No specimens

12–18 inches: midden; "guano"

Adz fragment [367]

18–24 inches: midden

Rubbing tool or reamer [357, pl. 7, *o*, at 17–27 inches]

24–30 inches: midden

Rubbing tool [334]

SQUARE 1–S

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

Cockle
Common chiton

6–12 inches: midden

Sea otter 1
Smooth Washington clam
Giant chiton

Rubbing tool [262]
Bird-bone awl [261]
Worked bone [274]
Cut bird bone [263]

12–18 inches: "guano"; dark midden

Seal 2
Deer 1
Marmot 1
Giant chiton

Rubbing tool [245]
Bone pin fragment [244]
Slate knife [272]
Chipped schist tool [271, pl. 6, *i*, at 9–15 inches]

18–24 inches: dark midden

Sea otter 2

24–30 inches: dark midden

No specimens

SQUARE 2–T

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

No specimens

6–12 inches: midden

Double-pointed bone pin [268]

12–18 inches: midden; "guano"; bark

Smooth Washington clam

Unfinished rubbing tool ? [239, pl. 7, *m*]
2 ulo fragments? [240, 285], bottom of deposit
Cut bone [238], bottom of deposit
Wooden handle or peg [uncat.], bottom of deposit

18–24 inches: midden; subsoil

Sea otter 1
Beaver 1
Smooth Washington clam

Barb for gaff hook [312]

SQUARE 2–S

Surface–6 inches: moss; midden

Rubbing tool [234]
2 worked bones [232, 233]

6–12 inches: midden; subsoil

Chipped schist tool [215]
Red baked paintstone [270]
Slate ulo blade [269]

TOP OF DAXATKANADA ISLAND

Rubbing tool with incised face [49–25–19, fig. 15, *a*]
Splitting adz [296, pl. 5, *a*]

EAST SLOPE OF DAXATKANADA ISLAND

Barb from harpoon head [304]

SURFACE OF SHELF

Whetstone [373]

SHELF, DEPTH UNKNOWN

2 rubbing tools [49–25–18, pl. 7, *c*; 49–25–401
Cut bird bone [312]

BEACH OF DEXATKANADA ISLAND

2 splitting adzes [291; 294, pl. 5, *b*]
Planing adz fragment [292, pl. 6, *c*]
Adz fragment [366]
2 unfinished adzes [293, 49–25–17]
Unfinished marble scraper ? [295]

PILLSBURY POINT

Layer A: Surface–6 inches:
- Hammerstone [P–24]
- Barb of harpoon head [P–17]
- Bone pin fragment [P–4]
- Bone awl [P–28]

Layer B: 6 inches:
- Toggle harpoon head [P–12]
- Green slate whetstone [P–9]
- Hard rock whetstone [P–10]

10 inches:
- Metal-cut barbed arrowhead [P–13, pl. 8, *a*]

Layer C: 6–12 inches:
- Greenstone rubbing tool [P–8, pl. 7, *n*]

12 inches:
- Barbed head fragment [P–14]
- Bird-bone point [P–15, pl. 9, *j*]

26 inches:
- Rubbing tool [P–6]

Layer D: 12–18 inches:
- 2 worked bones [P–29, P–30]
- Sandstone saw [P–2]
- Sawed shale [P–3]

Layer E: (depth ?):
- Unfinished adz or scraper [P–31]

Layer F: (depth ?):
- Bone pin fragment [P–7]

47 inches:
- Bird-bone bead [P–24, pl. 10 *t*]

Layer G: (depth ?):
- Worked whale bone [uncat.]

29–30 inches
- Whetstone with red paint [P–1, pl. 6, *b*]

51 inches:
- Whetstone [P–32]

Layers A–E: (depth ?):
- 2 worked bones [P–19, P–20]
- Worked bird bone [P–18]

Layer unknown: 6–12 inches:
- Powdered red hematite [uncat.]
- Mussel shell knife fragment [P–5, pl. 9, *n*]

18 inches:
- Beaver tooth tool [P–25, pl. 9, *q*]
- Sea otter tooth pendant [P–11, pl. 10, *a*]

Depth unknown:
- Shale whetstone [P–27]
- Cut bird bone [P–21]

Beach:
- Unfinished splitting adz [P–23]

OTHER SITES

Angoon; west beach:
- Splitting adz [X–8]
- *G̣anʌx̣ Woman's Fort:*
  - Maul head [49–25–14, pl. 4, *b*]
  - Wooden object with copper band [X–11]
- *Vicinity of, purchased:*
  - 3 pestles or hand hammers [X–6, pl. 5, *e;* X–7, pl. 5, *d;* X–10]

Sullivan Point:
- Sandstone saw [X–3, pl. 7, *q*]
- Slate knife fragment [X–1]
- Cut bone [X–2]

Killisnoo Harbor Village:
- Notched slate tablet [X–5]

Hood Bay Fort; midden below:
- Barbed harpoon head [49–25–10]
- Tang of arrowhead? [49–25–9]
- *Midden on top:*
  - Barbed harpoon head [49–25–11, pl. 8, *k*]
  - Stone labret [49–25–12, pl. 10, *aa*]

Chaik Bay, beach below fort:
- Barbed harpoon head fragment [49–25–15]

Whitewater Bay, cache pit:
- Iron cannon ball fragment [49–25–23]
- Hudson's Bay Company blue glass bead [49–25–22]

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

PLATE 1

The West Beach of Angoon, 1950. (Frontispiece.)

PLATE 2

Angoon Houses, 1950 and 1890.

a, Lineage houses, Angoon. *Left to right:* Packed Solid House (No. 9); Steel House (No. 8); Clear Spring House (No. 7); Middle of the Village House (No. 6); Bear House (No. 5); Killer Whale House (No. 4). (Photographed in 1950. See figure 17 for location of houses.)

b, Killer Whale House (No. 4) as it was in 1890.

PLATE 3

Daxatkanada Island and causeway.

a, Looking north from Channel Point Island, showing the causeway.

b, Looking west, the causeway.

PLATE 4

Artifacts and posthole.

a, Stone vessel, shelf at Daxatkanada Island, C2E 6–12 inches (No. 302). (Scale in centimeters.)

b, Maul head, G̣anᴀx̣ Women's Fort, Angoon (45–25–14). (Scale in centimeters.)

c, Wooden post from bottom of shelf at Daxatkanada Island, G2E. (Scale in inches.)

d, Posthole (left) and roothole (right), subsoil on shelf at Daxatkanada Island. (The white arrow above the posthole is 12 inches long.)

PLATE 5

Splitting adzes, hammers, etc., from Daxatkanada Island unless otherwise specified. (Scale in centimeters.)

a, Splitting adz, serpentine, top of Daxatkanada Island (No. 296).
b, Splitting adz, green sandstone, Daxatkanada beach (No. 294).
c, Head for picklike club, dark crystalline rock, D1W 6–12 inches (No. 275).
d, *e*, Pestles or hand hammers, dark igneous rock, purchased at Angoon (Nos. X–7, X–6).
f, Chert hammerstone, G2E 12–18 inches (No. 180).

PLATE 6

Miscellaneous stone specimens, from Daxatkanada Island unless otherwise specified. (Scale in centimeters.)

a, Planing adz made from broken greenstone splitting adz, G1E 8 inches (No. 342).
b, Whetstone of micaceous sandstone on which red hematite paint has been mixed, Pillsbury Point, layer G, 29–30 inches (No. P–1).
c, Butt end of greenstone planing adz, Daxatkanada beach (No. 292).
d, Sandstone cup, D2E 6–12 inches (No. 51).
e, Sandstone cup, E3E 12–18 inches (No. 139).
f, Sandstone bowl or lamp, B2E 5 inches (No. 36).
g, Oval marble scraper (?), F2E 12–18 inches (No. 145).
h, Chipped implement, micaceous schist, F1W 6–12 inches (No. 281).
i, Chipped implement, micaceous schist, 1–S 9–15 inches (No. 271).
j, Chipped implement, marble, B3E 3 inches (No. 12).
k, Chipped implement, micaceous schist, C2E 12–18 inches (No. 98).
l, Massive basalt flake, E2E 18–24 inches (No. 168).

PLATE 7

Stone rubbing tools and saws, from Daxatkanada Island unless otherwise specified. (Scale in centimeters.)

a, Slate rubbing tool, stubby, C2E 6–12 inches (No. 71).
b, Marble rubbing tool, stubby, B3E 14 inches (No. 16).
c, Slate rubbing tool, bladelike, shelf (49–25–18).
d, Slate rubbing tool, bladelike, F1E 6–12 inches (No. 254).
e, Slate rubbing tool, chisellike, F1E 27 inches (No. 365).
f, Slate rubbing tool, chisel shaped, east slope (No. 303).
g, Slate rubbing tool, chisellike, F2E 24–30 inches (No. 172).
h, Slate rubbing tool, chisellike, 1–U 6–12 inches (No. 305).
i, Slate rubbing tool, knifelike, beveled, B1E 0–6 inches (No. 183).
j, Slate rubbing tool, knifelike, flat, O–T 26–30 inches (No. 344).
k, Slate rubbing tool, knifelike, flat, B2E 9 inches (No. 17).
l, Slate rubbing tool, knifelike, flat, G1E 0–6 inches (No. 306).
m, Unfinished rubbing tool (?), slate, 2–T 16 inches (No. 239).
n, Unfinished rubbing tool (?), greenstone, Pillsbury Point, layer C (No. P–8).
o, Slate rubbing tool or reamer, 1–T 17–27 inches (No. 357).
p, Slate ulo, E3E 12–18 inches (No. 140).
q, Sandstone saw, Sullivan Point (No. X–3).
r, Marble saw, B3E 4 inches (No. 10).

Plate 8

Bone weapons, from Daxatkanada Island unless otherwise specified. (Scale in centimeters.)

a, Slender barbed point for arrow (?), Pillsbury Point, layer B, 10 inches (No. P–13).
b, Half of toggle harpoon head, B3E 19 inches (No. 13).
c, Half of toggle harpoon head, F3E 0–6 inches (No. 114).
d, Barbed harpoon head, B2E 17 inches (No. 1).
e, Barbed harpoon head, F2E 18–24 inches (No. 148).
f, Barbed harpoon head, C3E below 18 inches (No. 63).
g, Barbed harpoon head, C2E 6–12 inches (No. 70).
h, Barbed harpoon head, F3E 18–24 inches (No. 141).
i, Barbed harpoon head, O–U 27–28 inches (No. 377).
j, Barbed harpoon head, G2E 6–12 inches (No. 176).
k, Barbed harpoon head, Hood Bay Fort (49–25–11).
l, Barbed harpoon head, H2E 12–18 inches (No. 198).
m, Barbed harpoon head, G1E 21 inches (No. 343).
n, Barbed harpoon head, C1E 6–12 inches (No. 279).

Plate 9

Bone and shell implements, from Daxatkanada Island unless otherwise specified. (Scale in centimeters).

a, Double-pointed bone pin, C2E 18–24 inches (No. 90).
b, Double-pointed bone pin, F2E 24–30 inches (No. 169).
c, Double-pointed bone pin, G2E 0–6 inches (No. 155).
d, Double-pointed bone pin, D1W 0–6 inches (No. 241).
e, Double-pointed bone pin, C2E 12–18 inches (No. 67).
f, Double-pointed bone pin, F1E 6–12 inches (No. 356).
g, Double-pointed bone pin, F2E 24–30 inches (No. 150).
h, Barbed bird-bone point, E2E 0–6 inches (No. 107).
i, Bird-bone point, D2E 6–12 inches (No. 48).
j, Bird-bone point, Pillsbury Point, layer C, 12 inches (No. P–15).
k, Gaff hook barb, rib, C1E 0–6 inches (No. 218).
l, Gaff hook barb, bear penis bone, E3E 0–6 inches (No. 125).
m, Bone weapon point, F2E 6–12 inches (No. 136).
n, Mussel shell knife, Pillsbury Point, 6–12 inches (No. P–5).
o, Beaver tooth tool, D1W 0–6 inches (No. 242).
p, Beaver tooth tool, F1E 18 inches (No. 316).
q, Beaver tooth tool, Pillsbury Point, 18 inches (No. P–25).
r, Antler dagger or spear point, O–T 28 inches (No. 335).
s, Butt of heavy implement, O–T bottom of midden on saddle (No. 328).
t, Butt of heavy implement, F2E 12–18 inches (No. 132).
u, Bone arrowhead, H1E 12 inches (No. 363).
v, Bone rod, E1E 6–12 inches (No. 194).
w, Slender bone pin, A2E 6–12 inches (No. 97).
x, Slender bone pin, H2E 12–18 inches (No. 227).
y, Bird-bone tube, A2E 6–12 inches (No. 80).

Plate 10

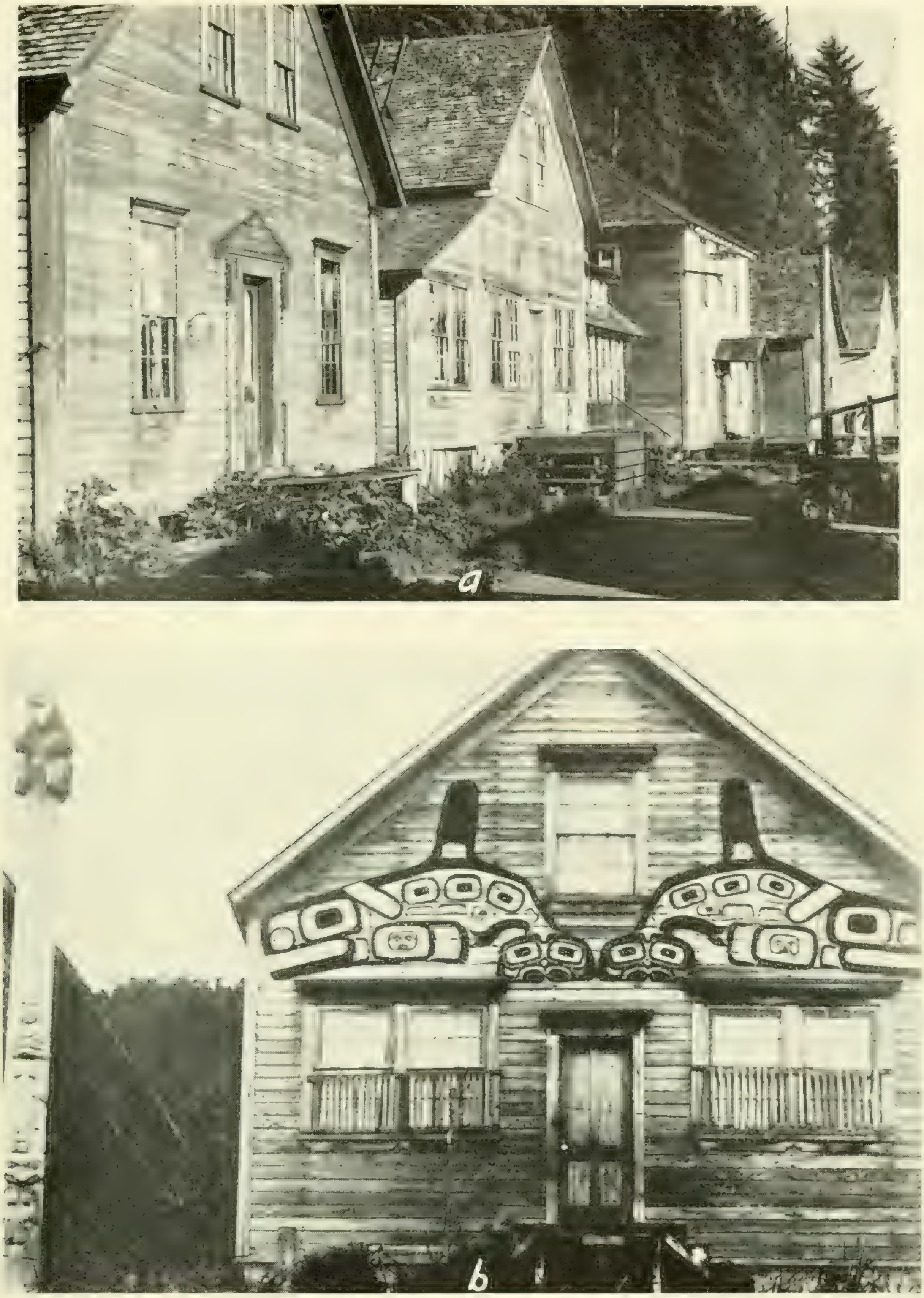
Ornaments and miscellaneous specimens, from Daxatkanada Island unless otherwise specified. (Scale in centimeters.)

a, Tooth pendant, Pillsbury Point, 18 inches(No. P–11).
b, Tooth pendant, H2E 0–6 inches (No. 246.)
c, Tooth pendant, E2E 18–24 inches (No. 152).
d, Tooth pendant, B2E 11 inches (No. 18).
e, Shell pendant, E1E 6–12 inches (No. 205).
f, Ivory pendant, H1W 14 inches (No. 310).
g, Bear canine cut for bead, E1E 12–18 inches (No. 223).
h, Bear canine cut for bead, E2E 12–18 inches (No. 157).
i, Ornamental bone strip, G2E 12–18 inches (No. 162).
j, Bone pendant, D1W 12–18 inches (No. 286).
k, Bone nose (?) pin, D2E 5 inches (No. 44).
l, Copper tinkler, C3E below 18 inches (No. 65).
m, Worked sea otter molar, A2E 6–12 inches (No. 92).
n, Ivory bead, D1E 0–6 inches (No. 255).
o, Shale bead, C2E 6–12 inches (No. 55).
p, Shale bead, D2E 6–12 inches (No. 46).
q, Shale bead, C3E below 18 inches (No. 64).
r, Slatey disk for inlay (?), D2E 6–12 inches (No. 47).
s, Slatey disk for inlay (?), E2E 0–6 inches (No. 106).
t, Bird-bone bead, Pillsbury Point, layer F, 47 inches (No. P–24).
u, Jet bead, C2E 18–24 inches on shelf (No. 88).
v, Bird-bone bead, C1W 6–12 inches (No. 273).
w, Bird-bone bead, F2E 0–6 inches (No. 121).
x, Bird-bone bead, C2E 18–24 inches (No. 89).
y, Bone carving, E2E 0–6 inches (No. 110).
z, Soapstone labret, E2E 0–6 inches (No. 105).
aa, Red baked shale labret. Hood Bay Fort (49–25–12).
bb, Soapstone labret, E2E 18–24 inches (No. 166).
cc, Sandstone bead, E1W 0–6 inches (No. 266).
dd, Limestone bead, O–U 18–24 inches (No. 390).
ee, Marble disk with pit, D2E 6–12 inches (No. 74).
ff, Brass thimble, C2E 17 inches (No. 87).
gg, Iron implement, F1E 6–12 inches (No. 311).
hh, Young bear jaw with hole, G2E 18–24 inches (No. 178).

Plate 11

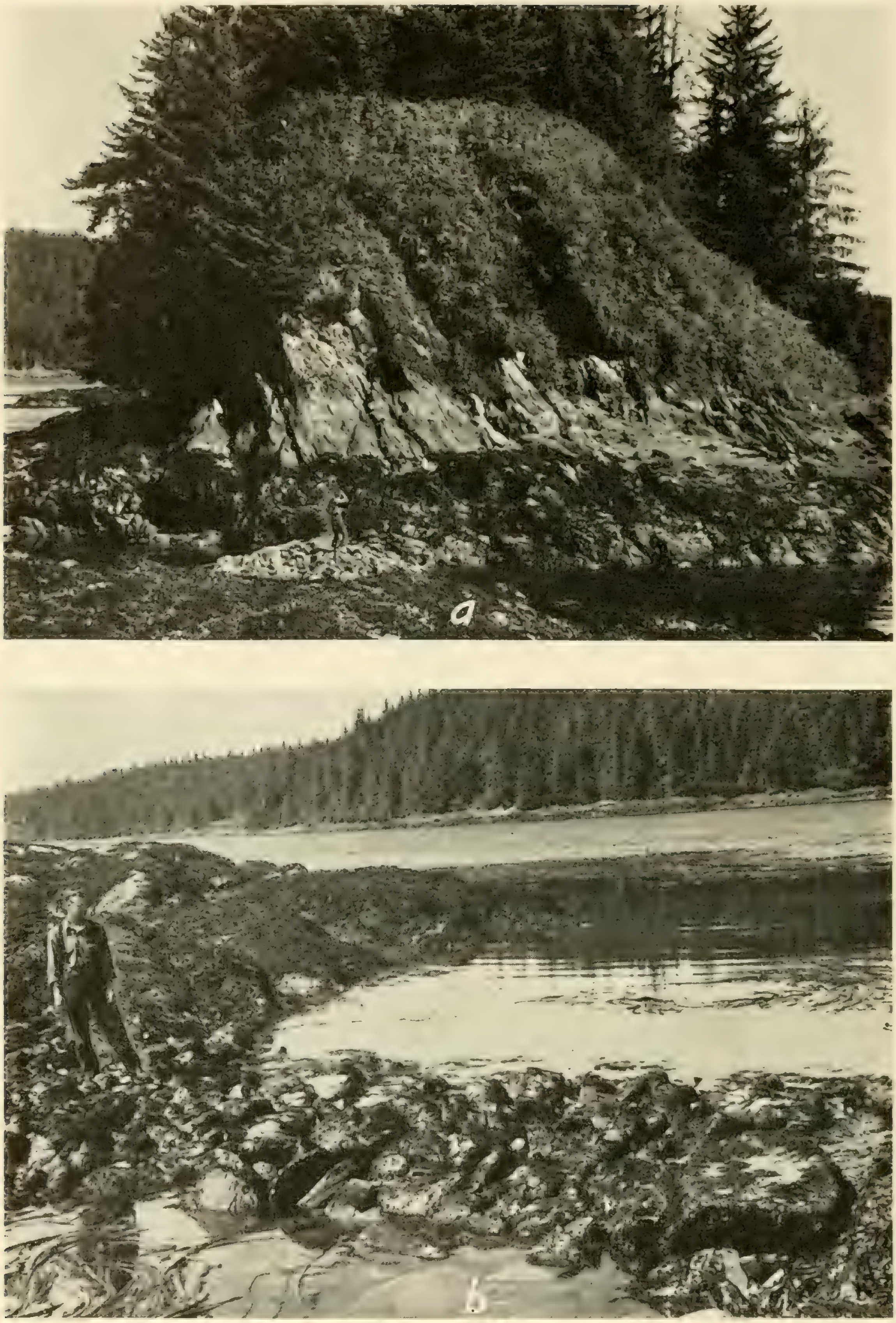
Petroglyphs, Sitkoh Bay. (Numbers refer to location of petroglyphs as given on sketch map in figure 8, p. 76.)

a, Concentric circle with arms (No. 2).
b, Unidentified figure (No. 7).
c, Spiral (No. 8).
d, Frog, etc. (No. 1).
e, Devilfish (?) (No. 3).
f, Oval, "copper," and concentric circles (Nos. 6, 5, 4).



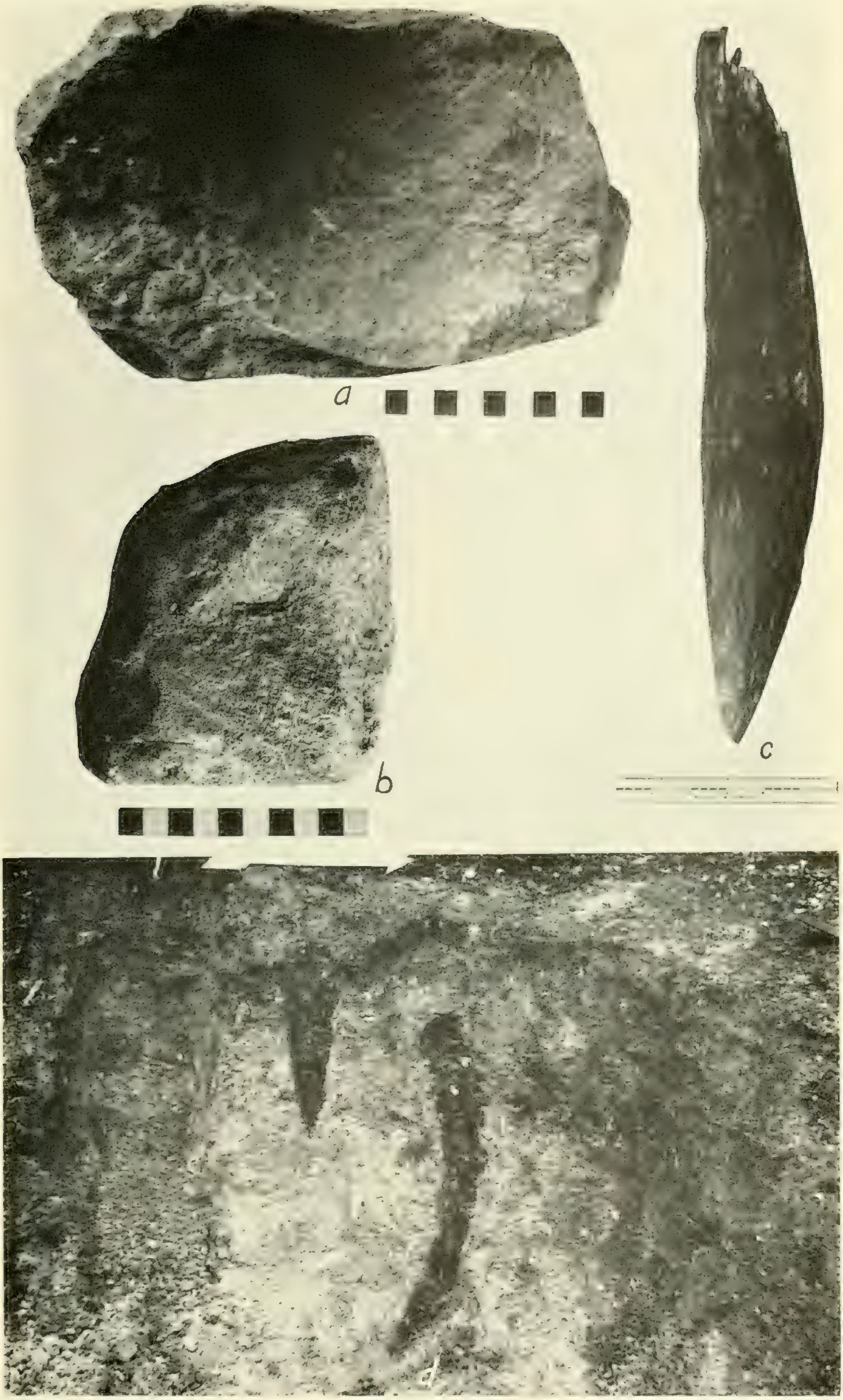
Angoon Houses, 1950 and 1890.

(For explanation, see p. 231.)



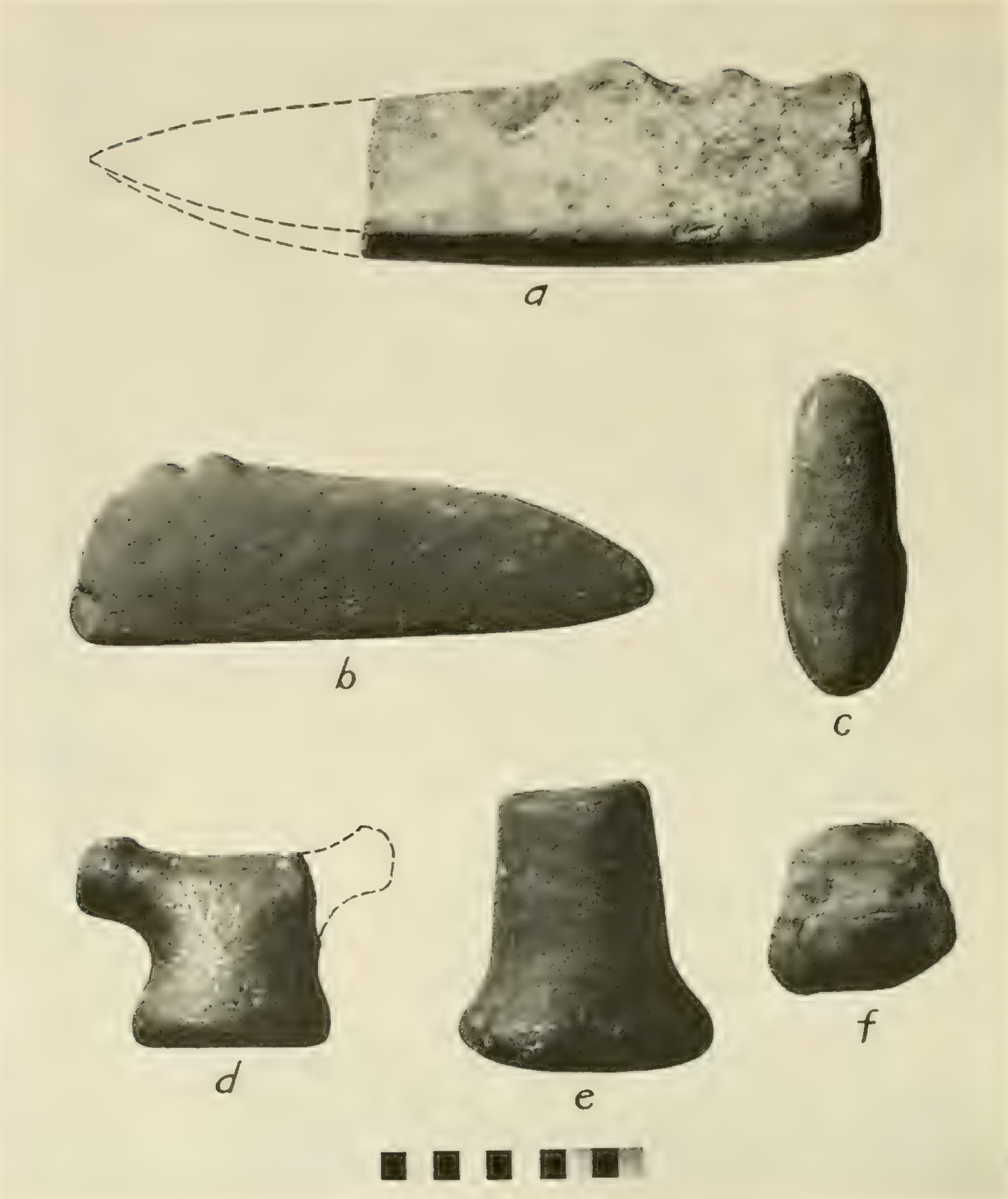
Daxatkanada Island and causeway.

(For explanation, see p. 231.)



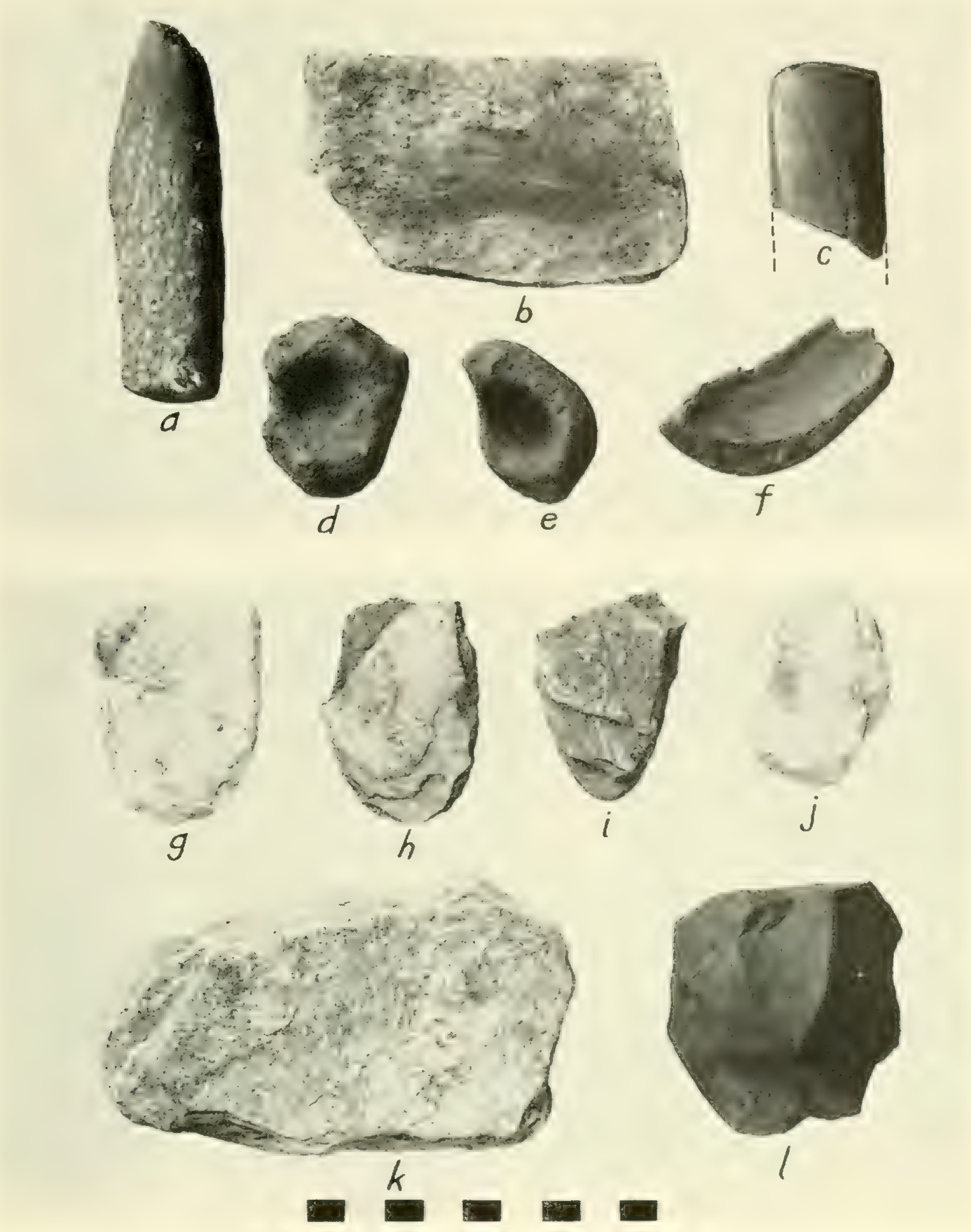
Artifacts and posthole. (*a*, *b*, Scale in centimeters; *c*, scale in inches.)

(For explanation, see p. 231.)



Splitting adzes, hammers, etc. (Scale in centimeters.)

(For explanation, see p. 232.)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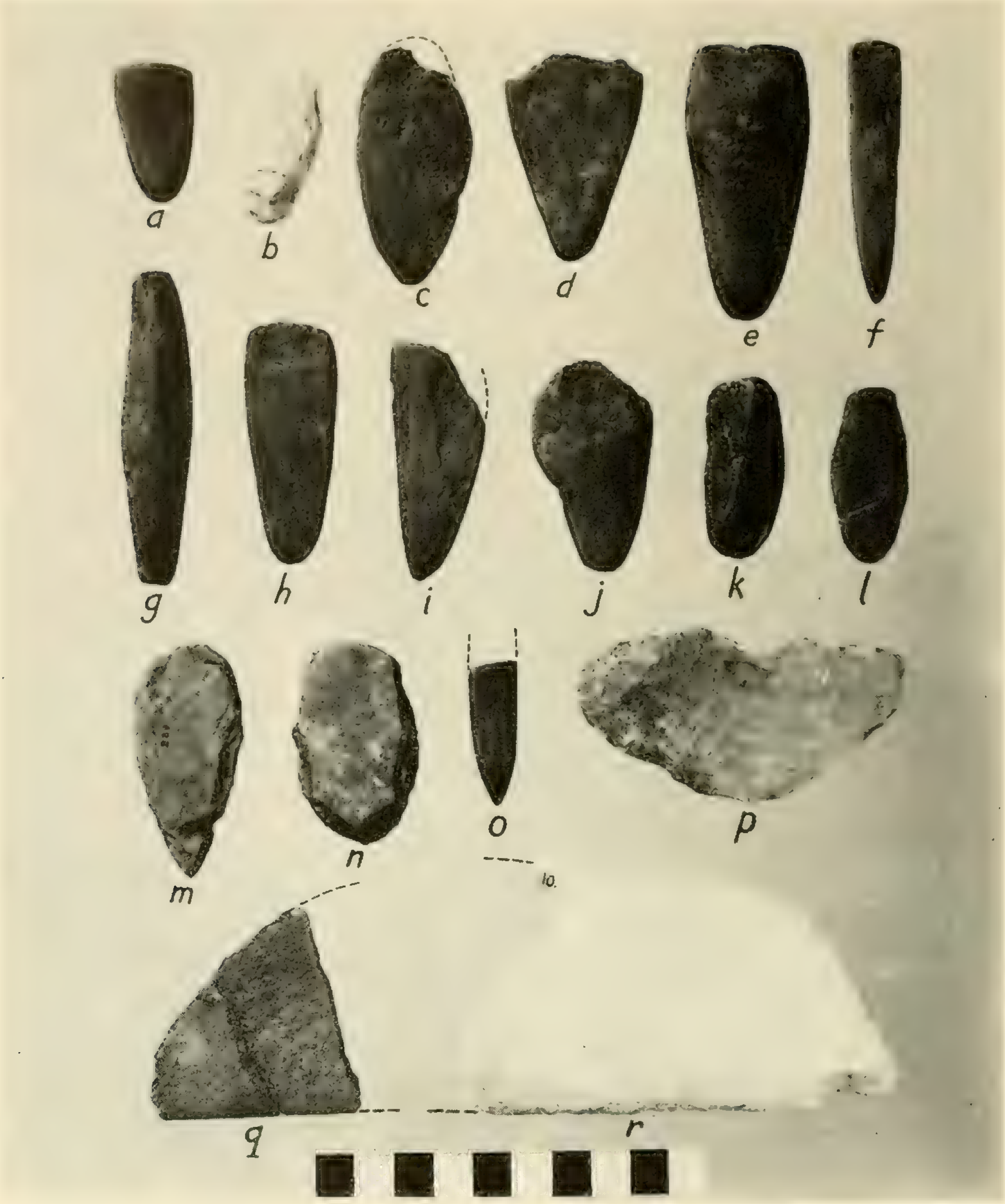
Miscellaneous stone specimens. (Scale in centimeters.)

(For explanation, see p. 232.)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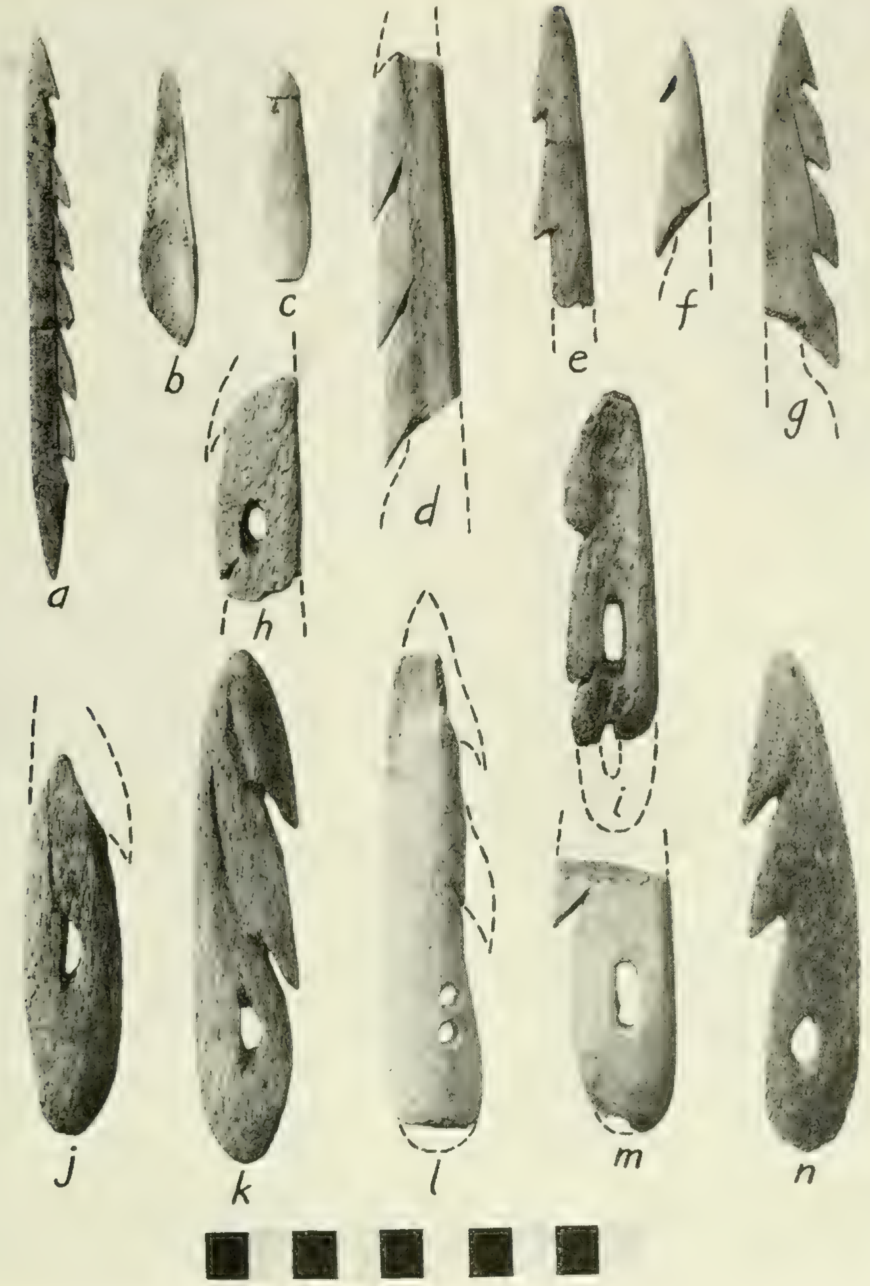
Stone rubbing tools and saws. (Scale in centimeters.)

(For explanation, see p. 232.)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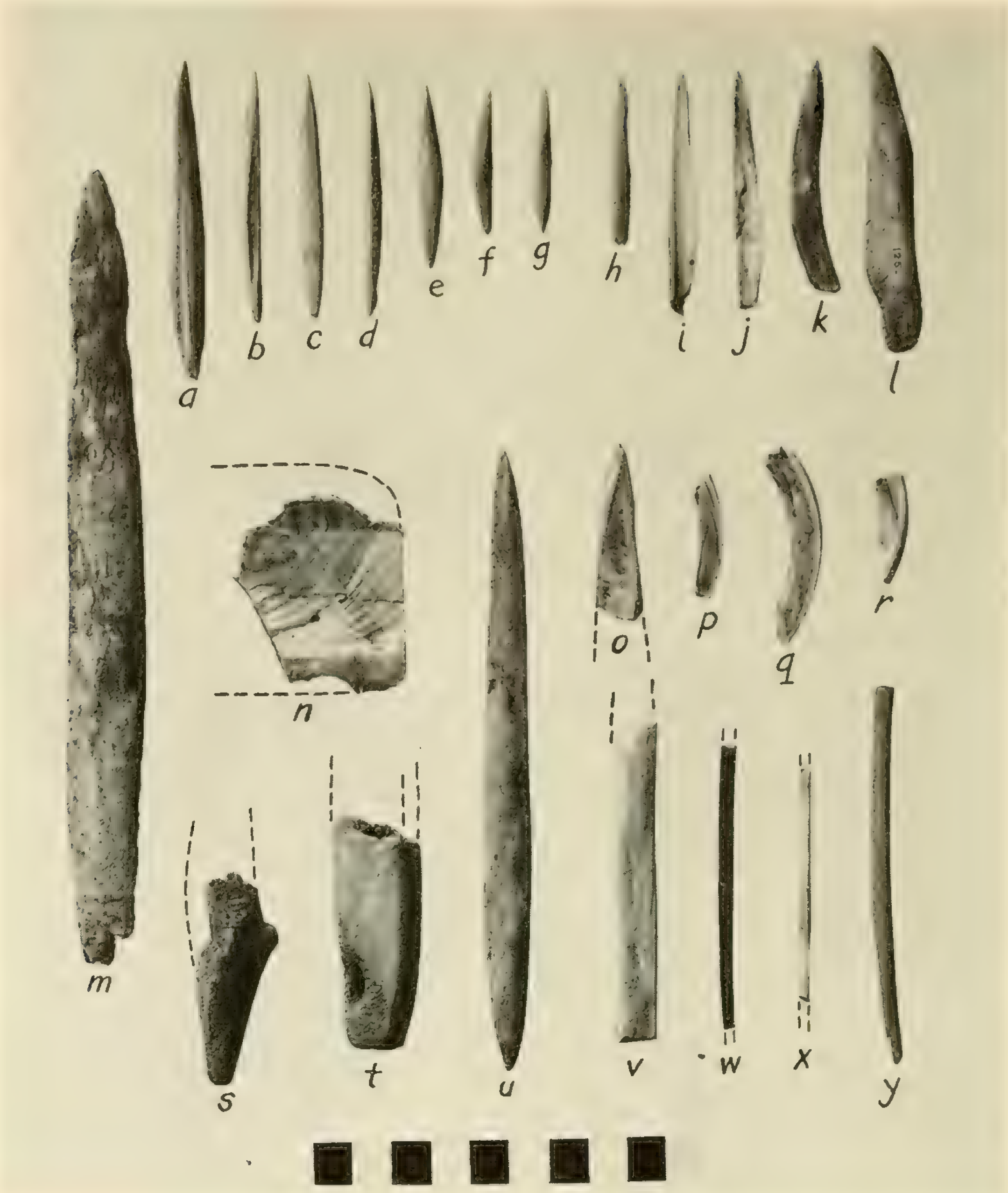
Bone weapons. (Scale in centimeters.)

(For explanation, see p. 233.)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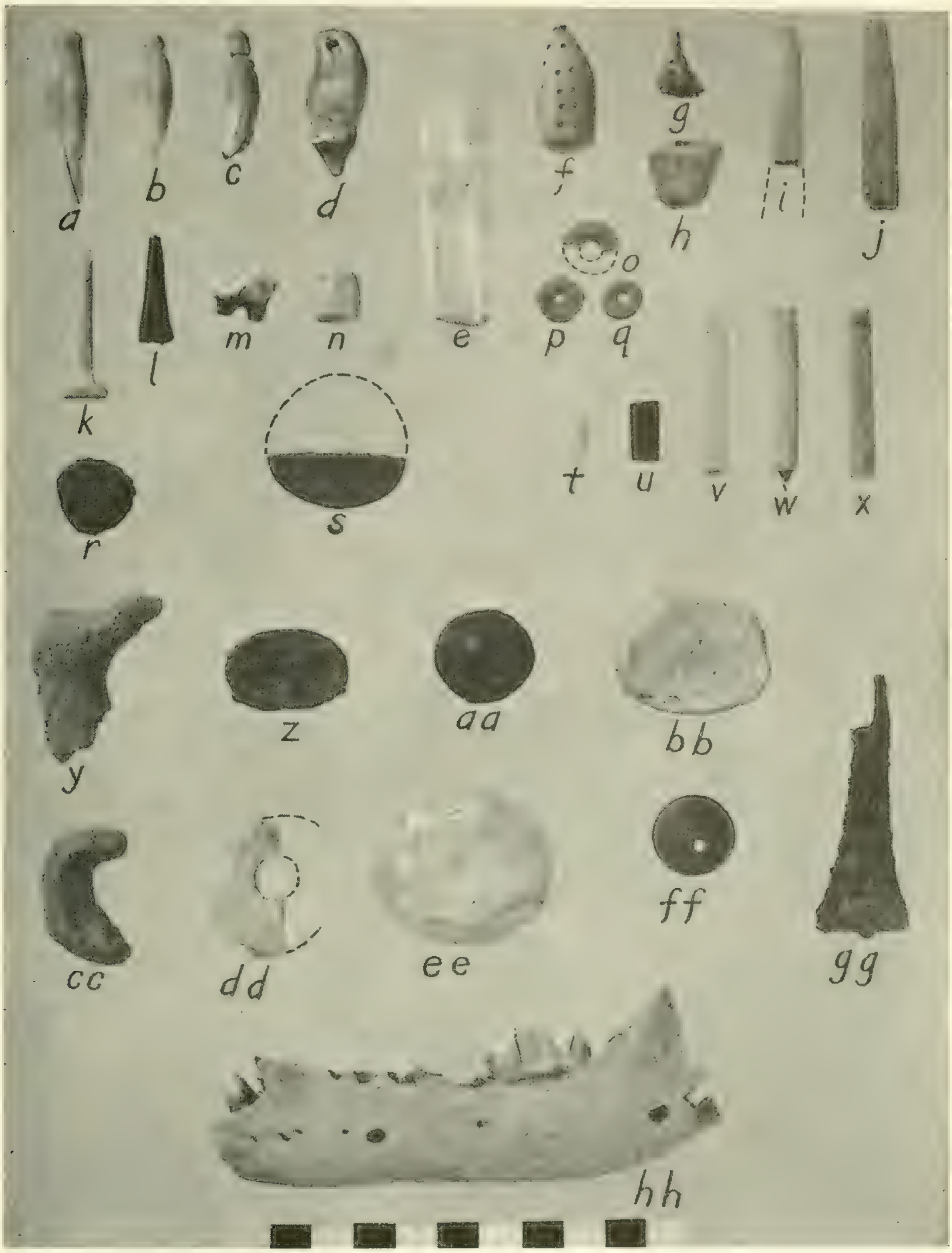
Bone and shell implements. (Scale in centimeters.)

(For explanation, see p. 233.)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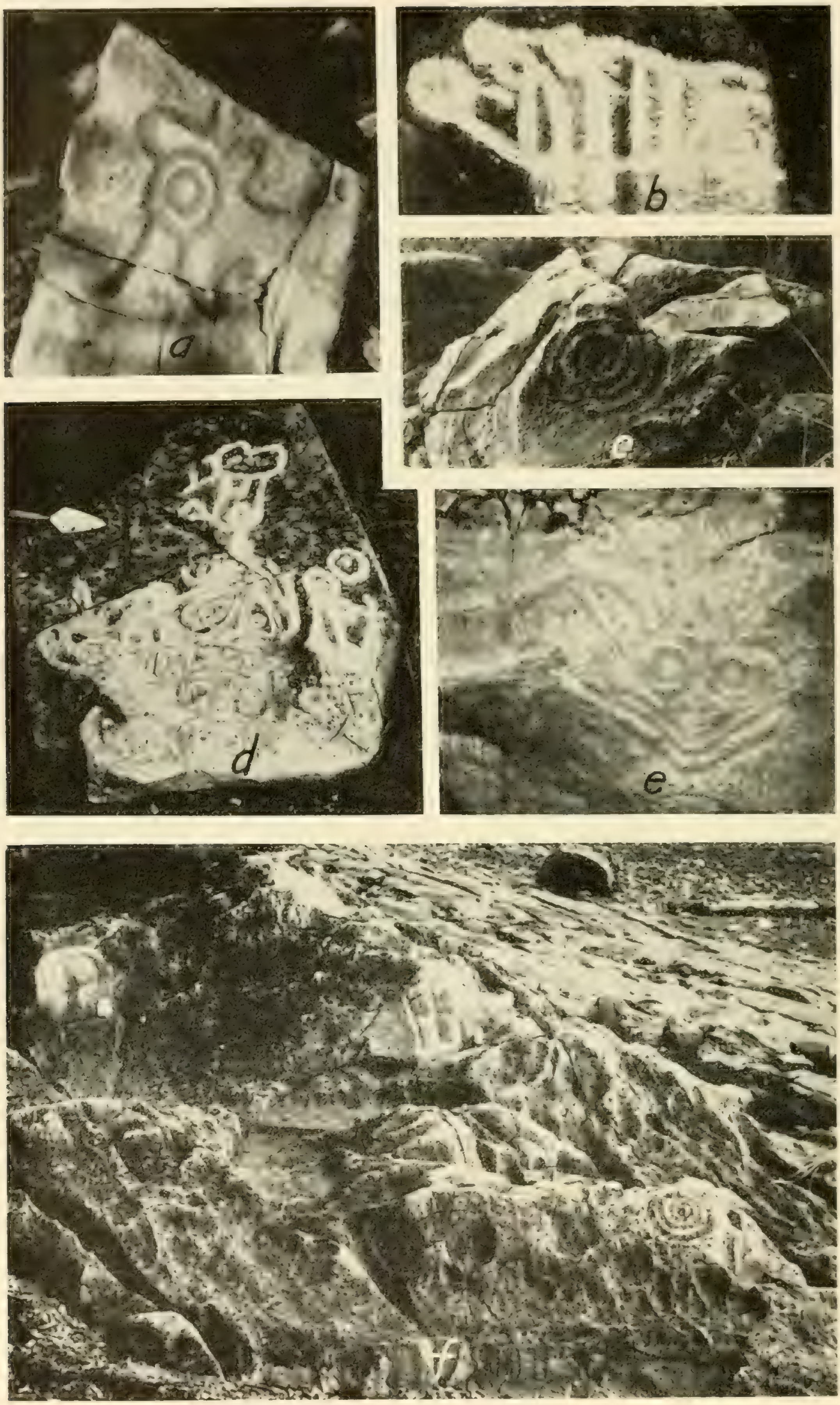
Ornaments and miscellaneous specimens. (Scale in centimeters.)

(For explanation, see p. 234.)



Petroglyphs, Sitkoh Bay.

(For explanation, see p. 234.)

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